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THE TEACHER OF MANKIND

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THE TEACHER OF MANKIND

By

W. A. RUSSELL, M.A.

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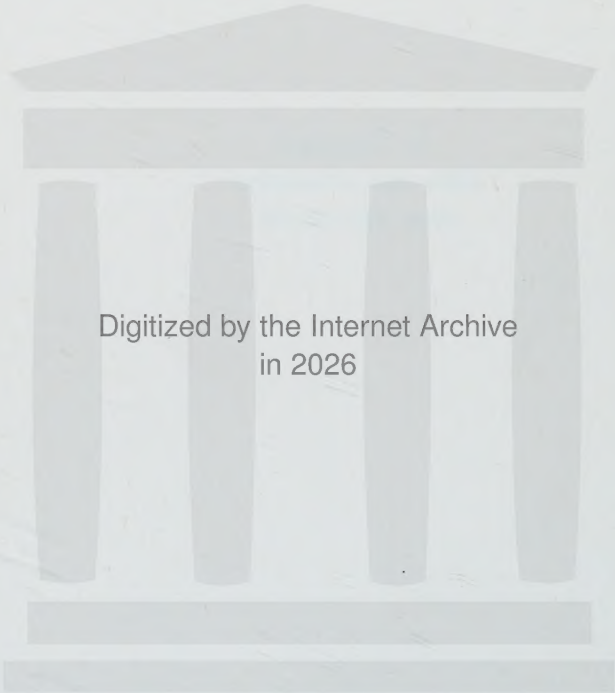

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PREFACE

This book is the product of an endeavour of many years' duration to reconstruct a true account of the teaching of Jesus. Certainty in such a matter, it is fully recognised, is not attainable. Much of the information that has come down to us concerning Jesus, even in what are considered the best authorities, is of worse than doubtful character. The highest success that can be achieved is to attain a fair degree of probability.

The following is the plan of the book.

The first chapter gives the attitude adopted by the author towards the results of modern New Testament criticism, and states the principles and methods of reasoning on which his views are based.

In the second chapter an attempt is made to give some representation of the historical Jesus.

The third chapter deals with the teaching of Jesus on God and Eternal Life.

The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters deal respectively with the teaching of Jesus on those important aspects of human life which are comprised under the following headings:—

"The Struggle for Existence and the Pursuit of Wealth."

"The Family."

"The State."

"The Individual."

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The eighth chapter treats of the origin of the Christian Church.

The author wishes to express his indebtedness to his friend, Mr. A. H. J. Bourne, M.A., late scholar of King's College, Cambridge, for very helpful criticisms during the composition of each chapter.

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THE TEACHER OF MANKIND

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY CRITICISM

THIS introductory chapter discusses the character of the evidence on which the historical portions of this book are based.

The first three Gospels—usually called the Synoptic Gospels—which are the main source of our information concerning Jesus, have been the subject of critical study by a large number of able and scholarly men during recent years from many different points of view. There is now substantial agreement with respect to certain important conclusions.

The traditional authorship of these Gospels cannot be established, and is more than doubtful in the case of the Gospel attributed to the Apostle Matthew; but the dates of their composition are now put by competent critics early in the second half of the first century. They were probably written from thirty-five to forty-five years after the death of Jesus, and their accuracy in historical, but not in geographical, references has generally been vindicated.

The relationship existing between the three Gospels has been made clear by modern methods of criticism. Almost the whole of the Gospel according to St. Mark, in very nearly the same words, is reproduced in the other two Gospels. The inference is irresistible that

St. Mark's Gospel is the earliest, and that the writers of the other two Gospels had this Gospel before them, and copied from it often almost *verbatim*.

But there is also a large amount of very important matter in these Gospels which is not in St. Mark's Gospel. If we compare the additional matter found in the First Gospel with the additional matter found in the Third Gospel, we find that a considerable portion consists of sayings of Jesus expressed in the same or similar words, but often given in a different order and in a different setting.

The writers of those Gospels therefore drew from another common source or common sources, as well as from the Gospel according to St. Mark.

There is also a considerable amount of matter peculiar to each of these two Gospels, especially in their accounts of the birth and childhood of Jesus and of His resurrection. So striking are these differences that there is strong presumption that the writers of these two Gospels were not acquainted with each other's work, but wrote independently for different circles of readers.

From what sources did the three Synoptic Gospels draw their information? First and most important of all it is practically certain that a very early and very important document in wide use in the Churches was a collection of the words or sayings of Jesus, the *Logia* as they were called. The sayings in this collection were given apparently without comment or explanation, detached from their historic context. Their arrangement seems not to have been made on any logical principle, except that perhaps those embodying a characteristic word like "salt" or "new wine" may

have been placed together. According to Papias, a very ancient authority quoted in Eusebius, the Apostle Matthew was the author of this collection, which was written in Hebrew, and which "each reader interpreted as he was able."

Large portions of this collection, translated into Greek and probably rearranged, are almost certainly reproduced in the long discourses of Jesus that are a characteristic feature of the First Gospel. Even a brief examination of those discourses, especially of the Sermon on the Mount, will show that they are not discourses in the ordinary sense of that word, but rather series of pithy and pregnant sayings, with sometimes very little logical connection between them. The incorporation of the *Logia* in this Gospel would explain why it was entitled the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

In the Gospel according to St. Luke a considerable number of sayings appear to be taken from the *Logia*, but they are more broken up, and a more sustained attempt has been made to place them in an appropriate context.

In the earliest Gospel, St. Mark's, comparatively few sayings of Jesus are recorded, but they are generally given in appropriate settings, a notable exception being the following three short sayings on "salt," which are placed in juxtaposition without explanation:—

(*a*) *For every one shall be salted with fire and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt.*

(*b*) *Salt is good; but if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith will ye season it?*

(*c*) *Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.*

It will be readily seen from this example that a collection of sayings detached from their context and with neither comment nor explanation makes difficult matter to understand. Accordingly, a book that presented the teaching of Jesus in a more dramatic and intelligible form would be gladly welcomed. St. Mark's Gospel did this to a certain limited extent. The two later Gospels not only incorporated St. Mark's Gospel, but aimed at extending or even completing the work begun in his Gospel. The original *Logia* has completely disappeared. In all probability it was superseded by the Gospels and so fell into disuse. It may be regarded, however, as practically certain that we have preserved in the Synoptic Gospels a number of the authentic sayings of Jesus.

The other matter in these Gospels consists mainly of scenes and incidents connected with Jesus' life and ministry, and is so permeated with the miraculous that in the case of any other personage it would have been rejected long ago as incredible; but so much reverence was felt for the central figure of Christianity that the Gospels were generally accepted until comparatively recent times as the highest examples of truth. The inquiring spirit of modern science, however, is not to be restrained, and it has pursued its critical investigations into the problems presented by the Gospels, and has revealed so much that is mistaken in assumption and confused in conception, that the old attitude of unquestioning acceptance is no longer maintained even by scholars esteemed as orthodox.

A single exemplification will suffice. In his lifetime Jesus regarded Himself, and was regarded by His disciples, mainly as a divinely commissioned teacher.

His teaching was the supremely important thing. After His death interest was diverted largely from His teaching to His person. Who was He? The Gospels were written largely to answer this question. He was felt to be in a unique degree the Son of God, and, to satisfy the materialistic mind of the early Church, this doctrine had to be supported by the legend of the Virgin Birth. But to fulfil prophecy, He had also to be the son of David, and this relationship was established by furnishing Him through His father, Joseph, with no less than two different pedigrees, both tracing His descent back to David, one being constructed for the readers of St. Matthew's Gospel and another and quite a different one for the readers of St. Luke's Gospel! How can such confusion and contradiction be brought into harmony?

What has modern criticism to say of the Gospel according to St. John? This Gospel was evidently written for a later generation than that of the Synoptic Gospels. It purports to be composed on historical lines, and in certain important points, such as the duration of Jesus's ministry, the number of His visits to Jerusalem, and the dates of His Trial and Crucifixion, it is regarded by many scholars as probably more accurate than the Synoptic Gospels. But the style and the character of the teaching attributed to Jesus are profoundly changed. In the opening verses Jesus is proclaimed to be identical with the Divine Logos, a theological conception borrowed from Alexandrian Græco-Jewish philosophy, and His Divine nature is the main subject of discourse throughout the book. Most competent critics consider that this book should be regarded as a theological treatise

composed in dramatic form rather than an historical record of the teaching of Jesus.

A considerable number of people are inclined to admit that the less attested parts of the Gospel story need not be accepted, but they consider that the "triple tradition," that is, all that is common to the three Synoptic Gospels, and which therefore was widely accepted in the early Churches, might well be regarded as authoritative. Unfortunately for this view the "triple tradition" contains one of the most incredible and controversial of the miracles—that of the Gadarene (or Gergesene) herd of swine into which the legion of demons were sent. It is not so many years ago since the propriety of this act on the part of Jesus was seriously called in question, but there is no need to raise such a point. The miracle never happened. In a book recently published on "The Sayings of Jesus," an attempt is made to rationalise this miracle by the explanation that "probably the violence of the madman stampeded them." This version of the story contradicts the account given in the Gospels, nor does it offer a feasible explanation. Swine are not nervous or impressionable creatures. Anyone who has tried to drive them knows that a herd of swine could not be frightened into rushing down a precipice into the sea.

Many people are now prepared to throw overboard all the miracles in the Gospels with one great exception —that of the bodily resurrection of Jesus. This they consider to be the central fact of Christianity. They fear, if it goes, everything will go. What is the character of the evidence regarding the resurrection? The records are completely at variance with one another. They differ so much as to the scene of the appearances and

the witnesses of the appearances, and other important details, that the judgment inevitably forms itself that, though the authors are not guilty of wilful falsification, still no dependence can be placed on their historical trustworthiness.

In accordance with the line of reasoning indicated above, the position adopted in this book is that the miraculous element in the Gospels is purely legendary in character. In this negation of the miraculous there is no intention of denying the fact that St. Paul had a vision on the road to Damascus to which his conversion was due, or that other people had similar visions, nor is it denied that Jesus wrought many wonderful cures. But these things are not "miracles" in the proper sense of that term.

The question may be asked: If there is no substratum of truth in miracles, how is it possible to explain such a large amount of legendary matter concerning Jesus springing up so soon after His death? The answer is to be found, not by attributing wholesale mendacity to His followers, nor in a systematic attempt to rationalise all the miracles, but rather in two considerations. In the first place, a man must have made a profound and widespread impression upon his day and generation to become the hero of popular legend. In the second place, the majority of people, even at the present day, but still more in pre-scientific days, have never been content with the plain truth; they desire to invest it with the romance of the marvellous.

Recent researches in the lives of saints and heroes have shown how much more quickly legend grows than had previously been thought possible. Often a

considerable crop springs up within the four or five years succeeding the death of some famous personage who has attracted great popular attention. It is noteworthy how frequently a hero's birth and infancy become the subject of marvellous stories, and also how rumours circulate that he has escaped death and will again return to his people.

The miracles are therefore indirect testimony to the great impression produced by Jesus on his generation.

Another question of primary importance still remains to be discussed.

It has been shown that there is good reason for believing that a number of the sayings of Jesus are preserved in the Gospels. Are all the sayings that are recorded genuine?

It is certain that not all are genuine. The authors or editors of the Gospels were not men of sound critical intelligence. An exemplification of their weakness in judgment is to be found in their so-called fulfilments of Scripture. Here the thought is often exceedingly trivial and inaccurate. Some instances will be given:—

(*a*) *He shall be called a Nazarene.* This is simply a blunder due probably to the fact that the Hebrew word for "branch" is similar in sound to "Nazareth," and is suggestive of it.

(*b*) *Sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.* This is the Hebrew poetical way of saying "ass"; one animal only is meant, not two, as the writer of the First Gospel takes it to mean. But what kind of mind would find in a trifling and ordinary circumstance like this the fulfilment of prophecy!

(*c*) Sometimes the fulfilment, like the fulfilment of

the Greek Oracles in history, is made to turn on what we would now call equivocation. For example, the words *Not a bone of him shall be broken* clearly meant in its original context that no serious injury would be sustained. But after a man's death what does it matter if a bone should be broken or not?

There is further to be noted a curious inversion of values in the thought of the writers of the Gospels. They seem to regard the prophecy as transcending the event in importance. The event happens in order that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. The mental independence of Jesus stands out in remarkable contrast. Referring to the Scriptures, He simply says: "*It was said to them of old time.*"

From one point of view this defective intelligence of the compilers of the Gospels has some advantages. It is evident that they had not the ability to invent the sayings of Jesus, the meaning of which they clearly did not comprehend.

But there was more at fault than defective intelligence. Acrimonious controversies divided the early Church, and keen partisans, in order to prove their contentions, did not hesitate to fabricate documents or interpolate passages in documents in a fashion that would not be considered honest in the present day.

The literary feeling of the time, Jewish and Christian, permitted very loose practices. The numerous Pseudepigrapha are a proof of that fact.

If it be argued that no one would have dared to alter or add to the words of Jesus, the indisputable fact must be faced that the variant readings in the different

Greek manuscripts of the Gospels that have come down to us prove beyond doubt that alterations have been made in the words attributed to Him, and also that considerable additions have been made to them.

It is certain, therefore, that much of the teaching attributed to Jesus in the Gospels is not authentic.

How then are we to distinguish between genuine sayings of Jesus and those that are not genuine? Is it possible to distinguish them by a certain ethical and spiritual discernment? In such a question a purely æsthetic criterion, depending as it does on subjective feeling, however personally impressive, cannot be regarded as decisive. There must be in addition a concurrence of other weighty considerations.

Examples will now be given of sayings that seem certainly not genuine.

The Promise of the Keys of Heaven to St. Peter.—"Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

(*a*) This saying is not found in the earliest Gospel, nor in the Gospel of St. Luke, though it is of such great practical importance that we cannot think that it would have been deliberately omitted if it had been known.

(*b*) It is directly contradictory to the general tenor of Jesus's teaching. He consistently refused to give precedence to any of the Apostles.

(*c*) It is inconsistent with the firm attitude St. Paul took in his controversy with St. Peter and successfully maintained.

(*d*) The use of the word "Church" is an anachronism. The saying bears, therefore, all the marks of having been fabricated by some ardent supporter of St. Peter. It was probably suggested by the fact that Jesus gave the name of Peter, i.e. "the Rock," to Simon, and also spoke of a rock as a sure foundation.

Faith and the Blasted Fig-tree.—In this strange and incredible story the fig-tree is miraculously blasted because it does not produce fruit at the wrong season! Later on in the same connection we are told that Jesus said to His disciples, if they had faith and doubted not, they could say to a mountain, "Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea," and it should be done. "All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive."

(*a*) All this is contradictory to the general tenor of Jesus's teaching with respect to prayer. His teaching, with its reservation *Thy will be done*, always implied the possibility of the petition not being granted.

(*b*) There is a variant—"If they had faith as a grain of mustard seed"—which makes no better, but rather worse, sense. The Kingdom of Heaven, it is true, was likened to "a grain of mustard seed" because from a very small origin it was to grow into a great institution; but what is the point of the comparison of faith in

this connection to the grain of mustard seed? It could only mean that the smallest *modicum* of faith is sufficient to perform the physical miracle of moving a mountain.

(*c*) The saying is based on a mistaken and literal interpretation of St. Paul's hyperbolical phrase, perhaps borrowed from Jesus, "A faith that could move mountains," that is, a faith that could surmount difficulties seemingly insuperable.

The Sign of Jonah.—"As Jonah was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth."

These words not only do not appear in the account given in St. Luke's Gospel, but, more, their insertion completely destroys the point of Jesus's reply, in which He declares that no other sign will be given to that generation than that of preaching, even as Jonah's preaching was the sole sign given to the people of Nineveh. St. Luke's version is, therefore, the correct account. It is unthinkable that St. Luke would have omitted these words if he had found them in the original account.

These words are, therefore, an interpolation prompted by the desire to find everywhere in Scripture symbolical predictions and their fulfilments; but in this case there is sad blundering regarding the fulfilment. According to the gospel story Jesus was in the grave two nights and one day—not three days and three nights. Moreover, according to the gospel story He showed Himself after His resurrection only to a comparatively small number of His followers, some of whom continued to doubt even after the appearance,

and He did not show Himself in public at all to the people. How then could His resurrection be rightly called a sign to that generation?

The crucial question, however, for Christianity at the present day is the authenticity of the teaching ascribed to Jesus respecting the Second Coming and the Day of Judgment—what is generally termed in theological phrase His eschatological teaching.

In his book, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, Dr. Schweitzer, formerly Professor of New Testament Criticism at Strasburg, and now medical missionary in Central Africa—a man whose views on every account deserve respectful consideration—comes to the conclusion that Jesus's teaching was essentially eschatological.

His account of Jesus's teaching may be summarised thus:—

Jesus believed and taught His disciples in secret that He was the Messiah of prophecy, that He was predestined to suffer rejection and death at the hands of the Jews, as had been obscurely predicted in the Scriptures; that there would follow upon his death a period of persecution of short but unknown duration, signalised by earthquakes, war, famine, and pestilence; that suddenly amid scenes of awful terror He would appear in the heavens in His glory, attended by multitudes of angels, and would judge the world and reward His faithful followers, and would punish the wicked with everlasting punishment. All these things Jesus assured them would happen before the contemporary generation had passed away. The duty of His followers was to watch and pray.

The nearness of this stupendous crisis naturally

altered all the ordinary values and attitudes in daily life. This was the real reason for the impracticable character of the ethics in the Sermon on the Mount. Why amass wealth or resist evil when this world was so soon to pass away?

If this is a true account of the teaching of Jesus, then notwithstanding His marvellously impressive personality, He must be numbered amongst the world's discredited prophets.

But is this account true? The obvious criticism on this theory is its inadequacy to do justice to, or to explain, the ethical and spiritual character of Jesus's teaching.

On the other hand, this theory makes us realise what a predominant part the expectation of the Second Coming and of the Day of Judgment played in the imagination of the early Christians. Certainly these things are given a very prominent place in the later sayings and parables ascribed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

The question, therefore, which we must now discuss is this: Are these apocalyptic and eschatological sayings and discourses a genuine part of the teaching of Jesus?

Modern Biblical research has discovered what a large part apocalyptic writings played in shaping and colouring Jewish thought during the two centuries preceding the Christian era and the succeeding century. In these writings, which were generally attributed by their authors to some famous name of ancient times, the destiny of the world and of mankind was portrayed in mysterious and figurative language that partly revealed and partly concealed its meaning.

The Book of Daniel in the Old Testament is a good example of this kind of writing. It used to be thought unique. We now know it is only one out of a very large number of such books. For some three hundred years a considerable section of the Jews fed their thoughts on this unwholesome type of literature. Finally it fell into deserved discredit.

It is doubtful whether Jesus was ever a student of apocalyptic: books He was not learned; but there is no doubt that some of the early converts to Christianity carried over from Judaism, in addition to the Book of Daniel, a very considerable number of apocalyptic writings. The most important of these was the so-called Book of Enoch. It is actually quoted by St. Jude as the authentic work of "Enoch, the seventh from Adam," and its influence, both in thought and phraseology, can be clearly perceived in the New Testament, and very markedly so in the apocalyptic passages in the Gospels. Indeed, it seems to have been accepted as canonical Scripture in the early Church until the authority of Augustine caused it to be discredited and to pass out of circulation.

The central figure in the apocalyptic passages in the Gospels is that of "the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory, to whom judgment has been given." Both imagery and wording are taken directly from the Book of Enoch. Was it Jesus who borrowed and applied these words to Himself? Or was it His followers who did so, and who put the words into His mouth? Reasons will be given for concluding that the latter hypothesis is the true one.

The designation most frequently used by Jesus for Himself in the Gospels is "Son of Man." The phrase

sounds strange to us, but it is merely the literal translation of a common idiomatic Aramaic expression signifying "man." It was a phrase in common use, and is found frequently in the Prophet Ezekiel, who in his visions makes the Almighty address him as "son of man." Here it means simply "O man"—one of the human race, addressed as such by the Almighty.

The following well-known lines from the Psalms clearly indicate its meaning:—

> What is man, that thou art mindful of him,
> And the son of man, that thou regardest him?

It is certain that the term in its common use implies no assumption of any quality transcending ordinary humanity.

In the records of the visions of Daniel, however, there is a well-known passage where the writer sees in heaven "one like unto a son of man." In the Book of Enoch this superhuman personage becomes "the Son of Man," "the Judge of the World."

We have, therefore, two distinct significations for the term "Son of Man"—the common signification and this special Enochian signification. Both significations appear to be used in the Gospels; which is the original?

The late Bishop Westcott writes: "This title (of Jesus) is not derived from Daniel vii. 13; it expressed Christ's relations not to a family or to a nation, but to all humanity. There is nothing in the Gospels to show that it was understood as a title of the Messiah."

It is a remarkable fact that in the Gospels it is Jesus only who is represented as applying the term "son of

man" to Himself. None of His disciples and none of the outside public use it in addressing Him. It is also a remarkable fact that, though it was evidently His favourite appellation for Himself, it is not found in the epistles of St. Paul, nor in the epistles of the other Apostles.

There is but one natural and simple explanation of this curious fact. Jesus used the term "son of man," when applying it to Himself, in its common and unassuming signification. His disciples and followers felt a natural reluctance from so addressing Him; they preferred a more respectful appellation. In His lifetime they addressed Him as "Teacher." After His death "Christ," "the anointed One," became His universally adopted name. Only later was it realised that Jesus's own designation for Himself, which had seemed commonplace and undistinguished, was used in the apocalyptic Book of Enoch as the title of a Being even more glorified and exalted than the long-looked-for Messiah, inasmuch as the "Son of Man" was of superhuman nature, and was the appointed judge of the world at the last day. Christian students of the apocalyptic books then identified Jesus with "the Son of Man" of the Book of Enoch. With this new light to illumine what was dark, they entered upon the misleading paths of apocalyptic speculation, and the later eschatological sayings and discourses ascribed to Jesus are the product of their mistaken interpretations.

Evidence in support of this will now be brought forward on three distinct lines:—

First, the obvious self-contradictions in the eschatological teaching.

Second, the strange confusion in which the prediction

of the destruction of the temple and of Jerusalem is mingled with the prediction of the end of the world.

Third, the widely divergent character of the teaching regarding the nature of the Kingdom of Heaven in the eschatological discourses from that at the beginning of Jesus's ministry.

1. If the three following pairs of sayings be carefully examined, it will be seen that they are so obviously contradictory that it is hardly possible to attribute them to the same source.

First Pair

(*a*) "The gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come."

(*b*) "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come."

Second Pair

(*a*) "Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled."

(*b*) "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only."

Third Pair

(*a*) In one account the signs preluding the second coming are described: "When these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh."

(*b*) Another account declares that the Kingdom of Heaven will come quite unexpectedly, "like a thief in the night."

Sayings so contradictory as these are cannot be

forced into harmony without doing violence to one's intellectual integrity.

Which of the contradictory sayings in each case represents the real teaching of Jesus? Almost certainly neither. They reflect the differing views of differing sections in the early Church. Each section, following the fashion of the age, claimed the authority of Jesus for its views, and if two views were widely accepted, both were given a place in the Gospels, probably to prevent schism in the Church.

2. The strange confusion of the predictions of the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem and of the Day of Judgment will now be discussed.

In St. Mark, the earliest of the Gospels, Jesus, in answer to a definite question in private by the Apostles Peter, John, James, and Andrew, is represented as predicting in veiled language the destruction not only of the temple, but of Jerusalem, and as warning His followers that they should betake themselves to instantaneous flight into the mountains. Pity is expressed for the sufferings of mothers with young children, and they are told to pray that their flight be not in winter. And then strangely appended to this prediction is the prediction of the coming of the Son of Man to judge the world, as though the two events were synchronous. Surely there is incongruity in telling them to pray that their flight should not be in winter and warning them in the next moment that the Day of Judgment with its awful terrors followed immediately.

In St. Matthew's Gospel this logical difficulty has been felt, and all the disciples are represented as asking in private two separate questions: (1) When is the

temple to be destroyed? and (2) What is the sign of the *parousia* and of the end of the world? Fuller answers are given to both questions in this Gospel, but the two events are still treated as synchronous.

It is to be noted that the use of the technical theological term *parousia* for the second coming is an anachronism when put in the mouth of Jesus.

In St. Luke's Gospel, in the corresponding passage, the destruction of Jerusalem is predicted, but no longer in veiled and mysterious language. That city, moreover, is to be "trodden underfoot till the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled." After that the Son of Man is to come on a cloud with power and great glory. But the fuller description of the last day, as given in St. Matthew's Gospel, is transferred to another apocalyptic discourse which is represented as uttered on an earlier occasion. Scholars have concluded from these discrepancies that St. Luke's Gospel is the latest of the three Synoptic Gospels, and was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the prediction was recast so as to suit the new situation.

But not even so has consistency been attained. In His answer to the question of the Pharisees, when the Kingdom of God should come, Jesus is represented in St. Luke's Gospel as replying: "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation." "The Kingdom of God is amongst you," or "within you." This saying has always been taken as teaching the spiritual nature of the Kingdom of God. But immediately after it, in violent contrast with it, He is represented as addressing the following astoundingly materialistic discourse to His disciples:—

"As it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the

days of the Son of Man. They did eat, they drank, they married wives, they were given in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and the flood came, and destroyed them all. Likewise also as it was in the days of Lot; they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but the same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all. Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of Man is revealed. In that day, he which shall be upon the housetop, and his stuff in the house, let him not come down to take it away: and he that is in the field, let him likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife. Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it. I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left. Two women shall be grinding together; the one shall be taken and the other left. Two men shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left. And they answered and said unto him, Where, Lord? And he said unto them, Wheresoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together."

The incoherence and confusion of this apocalyptic discourse are manifest.

Amidst the awful terrors of the last day, what need is there for the warning that if a man were "upon the house-top and his stuff in the house" he should not come down to take it away?

Why should a man not return to his house from the field?

Where should he go and what should he do?

What is the significance in this context of that fine

saying: *Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it*?

What is the meaning of the enigmatic saying concerning the eagles—the military symbol of the Roman Imperial power?

There is but one simple explanation of the curious confusion here. From several references in the Gospels it is clear that Jesus foresaw that the policy the Jewish people were pursuing would lead to war with Rome, and that He forewarned them that this would end in the destruction of both temple and city. Feeling that His warnings were uttered in vain, He cautioned His followers not to allow themselves to be caught in the beleaguered city, but to flee in good time to the mountains surrounding Judæa.

To the early Jewish Christians the destruction of the temple and of Jerusalem may well have seemed the beginning of the end of this world. Under the influence of the Book of Enoch, the warnings of Jesus, which had naturally been expressed in somewhat vague and indefinite terms, were made more definite and extended in scope, so as to include the coming in glory of the supernatural Son of Man and the imminence of the Day of Judgment, as predicted in that book.

3. The change in the moral tone in the apocalyptic sayings and discourses is most marked. The teaching there is materialistic and fatalistic, while the teaching of the early ministry of Jesus is spiritual and ethical. Nowhere is this contrast brought out more vividly than in the two parables, so closely connected in subject-matter, so fundamentally different in spirit, which are known respectively as *The Parable of the Sower* and *The Parable of the Wheat and the Tares*.

In the first, the work of founding the Kingdom of Heaven is likened to that of a sower who scatters his seed broadcast. Some of the seed is lost, falling on unsuitable ground, but most of the seed fall on good ground and bring forth and increase, some thirty, some sixty, some a hundred fold.

This is a beautiful and hopeful parable, true to human experience.

In the second parable, which is eschatological in character, the good seed are the children of the Kingdom, and he that soweth the good seed is the Son of Man, but the tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them is the devil. They are to be allowed to grow together because they cannot be safely distinguished from one another! But at the harvest, that is, the end of the world, the Son of Man shall send His angels, and they shall gather all things that offend and shall cast them into a furnace of fire.

This parable, which is found only in the Gospel of St. Matthew, is not true to nature, for human beings manifestly cannot be classified simply under two headings—the good and the bad. If there is evil in the ordinary man, there is also much good. The doctrine of predestination is also taught in this parable in its most fatalistic form. The sole duty of the children of the Kingdom is not to work, but to wait.

These two parables are irreconcilable in their outlook on life.

Some other eschatological parables and passages will now be briefly discussed. It will be seen that they display similar weaknesses of thought and morality.

The Parable of the Ten Virgins.—This parable,

which is found only in the Gospel of St. Matthew, is without logical coherence or moral. Of ten maidens who went out in Eastern fashion to meet a bridal procession, five were wise and five were foolish. All without exception fell asleep while they waited, but the wise had taken oil in their lamps, the foolish had neglected to do so. All are awakened by the approach of the procession. The five foolish maidens, when their request for the loan of some oil is refused by their prudent companions, go off to purchase a supply, and through this delay arrive late and are refused admission to the wedding feast. The concluding injunction is, "Keep awake!" but none of them had kept awake; all had fallen asleep. Nothing is said about the oil and what it signifies. Surely this is the production of some inferior mind of the early Church. What lesson does it teach?

The Judgment of the Nations.—When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory: and before Him shall be gathered all nations; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats; and He shall set the sheep on His right hand, but the goats on the left.

There is beauty and solemnity in this remarkable discourse, especially in the well-known words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me"; but neither in style nor in doctrine does it truly represent the teaching of Jesus. It is elaborately composed on the artistic lines of Hebrew poetry; and the doctrine, though founded on Jesus's saying concerning "the cup

of cold water given to a disciple," goes far beyond that saying. It is probably a psalm of the early Christians composed for a time of poverty and persecution.

The Twelve Thrones.—"Verily I say unto you, That ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

The language of this saying is taken almost *verbatim* from the Book of Enoch. It is not in accord with the general tenor of the teaching of Jesus, and in particular with the saying: *Many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first.* It seems clearly to be an interpolation intended to exalt the position of the twelve Apostles, just as there was a previous interpolation inconsistent, it may be remarked, with this one, which assigned the pre-eminence to St. Peter.

A sufficient number of examples have now been given to exhibit the self-contradictions and curious confusion in the eschatological discourses attributed to Jesus and also the marked difference in character of the teaching contained in them.

A very important eschatological saying, however, still remains to be considered, that which is reported to have been uttered during the trial of Jesus before the High Priest. It is reported differently in each of the Synoptic Gospels, while it is omitted altogether in the Gospel of St. John. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine all four accounts of the trial.

A state trial of a great personage on a capital charge always attracts attention, and in all the Gospels a large portion of the narrative is given to a description of Jesus's trial. What were the charges brought against

Him? Of what crime was He found guilty? What was the attitude of His judges? How did He comport Himself, and what did He say in self-defence?

First there is required a brief note on the administration of justice in Judæa at the time. Rome had conceded to the Jews the right of living under their own Mosaic Law. Serious offences against those laws were tried before the Jewish High Court, the Synhedrion as it was called, a tribunal of high reputation, presided over by the High Priest. This court could condemn to death, but the sentence had to be confirmed by the Roman Procurator, whose duty in such cases was confined to seeing that the proper legal procedure had been duly followed. Political offences, such as sedition or treason, were tried according to Roman law by the Roman Procurator.

The varying descriptions of the trial are now dealt with; St. Mark's account runs thus:—

"Now the chief priests and the whole council sought witness against Jesus to put him to death; and found it not. For many bare false witness against him, and their witness agreed not together. And there stood up certain, and bare false witness against him, saying, We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands. And not even so did their witness agree together. And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what is it which these witness against thee? But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and saith unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? and Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of

power, and coming with the clouds of heaven. And the high priest rent his clothes, and saith, What further need have we of witnesses? Ye have heard the blasphemy: what think ye? And they all condemned him to be worthy of death. And straightway in the morning the chief priests with the elders and the scribes, and the whole council, held a consultation, and bound Jesus, and carried him away, and delivered him up to Pilate. And Pilate asked him, Art thou the king of the Jews? And he answering saith unto him, Thou sayest. And the chief priests accused him of many things. And Pilate again asked him, saying, Answerest thou nothing? behold how many things they accuse thee of. But Jesus no more answered anything; insomuch that Pilate marvelled. Now at the feast he used to release unto them one prisoner, whom they asked of him, and there was one called Barabbas, lying bound with them that had made insurrection, men who in the insurrection had committed murder. And the multitude went up and began to ask him to do as he was wont to do unto them. And Pilate answered them saying, Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews? For he perceived that for envy the chief priests had delivered him up. But the chief priests stirred up the multitude, that he should rather release Barabbas unto them. And Pilate again answered and said unto them, What then shall I do unto him whom ye call the King of the Jews? And they cried out again, Crucify him. And Pilate said unto them, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out exceedingly, Crucify him. And Pilate, wishing to content the multitude, released unto them Barabbas, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged him, to be crucified."

The Gospel of St. Matthew presents the following important differences and additions:—

(i) The chief priests and the whole council sought *false* witness against Jesus.

(ii) Two witnesses came forward and testified "That this man said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days."

(iii) The high priest said to Jesus: I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God. Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said: nevertheless I say unto you, Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.

(iv) There is the episode of the dream of Pilate's wife.

(v) And also the following episode: "So when Pilate saw that he prevailed nothing, but rather that a tumult was arising, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man: See ye to it. And all the people answered and said, His blood be on us, and on our children."

The account in St. Luke departs more widely from St. Mark's than does that of St. Matthew.

"And as soon as it was day, the assembly of the elders of the people was gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away into their council, saying, If thou art the Christ, tell us. But he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe: And if I ask you, ye will not answer. But from henceforth shall the Son of man be seated at the right hand of the power of God. And they all said, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am. And they said,

What further need have we of witness? for we ourselves have heard from his own mouth. And the whole company of them rose up and brought him before Pilate. And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and saying that he himself is Christ a King. And Pilate asked him, saying: Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest. And Pilate said unto the chief priests and the multitudes, I find no fault in this man. But they were the more urgent, saying, He stirreth up the people throughout all Judæa, and beginning from Galilee even unto this place."

(Here follows the episode of the sending of Jesus to Herod, who sends him back to Pilate.)

"And Pilate called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, and said unto them, Ye brought unto me this man, as one that perverted the people: and behold, I, having examined him before you, found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: no, nor yet Herod: for he sent him back unto us; and behold, nothing worthy of death hath been done by him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. But they cried out all together, saying: Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas: one who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. And Pilate spake unto them again, desiring to release Jesus; but they shouted, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath this man done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him and release him. But they were instant with loud voices, asking that he might be

crucified. And their voices prevailed. And Pilate gave sentence that what they asked for should be done."

The account in St. John is still more divergent.

"The high priest therefore asked Jesus of his disciples, and his teaching. Jesus answered him, I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and in secret spake I nothing. Why askest thou me? ask them that heard me, what I spake unto them; behold, these know the things which I said. And when he had said this, one of the officers standing by struck Jesus with his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me? Annas therefore sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.

"They led Jesus therefore from Caiaphas into the prætorium: and it was early; and they themselves entered not unto the prætorium, that they might not be defiled, but might eat the passover. Pilate therefore went out unto them, and saith, What accusation bring ye against this man? They answered and said unto him, If this man were not an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him up unto thee. Pilate therefore said unto them, Take him yourselves, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death: that the word of Jesus might be fulfilled which he spake, signifying by what manner of death he should die. Pilate therefore entered again into the prætorium, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews? Jesus answered, Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee concerning me? Pilate answered, Am I a Jew?

Thine own nation and the chief priests delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done? Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence. Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a King then? Jesus answered: Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice. Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? And when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews and saith unto them, I find no crime in him. But ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the passover; will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews? They cried out therefore again, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber. Then Pilate therefore took Jesus and scourged him. And the soldiers plaited a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and arrayed him in a purple garment; and they came unto him, and said, Hail, King of the Jews! and they struck him with their hands. And Pilate went out again, and saith unto them, Behold, I bring him out to you, that ye may know that I find no crime in him. Jesus therefore came out, wearing the crown of thorns and the purple garment. And Pilate saith unto them, Behold the man! When therefore the chief priests and the officers saw him, they cried out, saying, Crucify him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them: Take him yourselves, and crucify him: for I find no crime in him. The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by that law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. When

Pilate therefore heard this saying, he was the more afraid; and he entered into the prætorium again and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou? But Jesus gave him no answer. Pilate therefore saith unto him, Speakest thou not unto me? Knowest thou not that I have power to release thee, and have power to crucify thee? Jesus answered him, Thou wouldest have no power against me, except it were given thee from above: therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath greater sin. Upon this Pilate sought to release him: but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend: every one that maketh himself a king opposeth Cæsar. When Pilate therefore heard these words, he brought Jesus out, and sat down on the judgment-seat at a place called The Pavement, but in Hebrew, Gabbatha. Now it was the Preparation of the passover; it was about the sixth hour. And he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King! They therefore cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Cæsar. Then therefore he delivered him unto them to be crucified."

No man of experience in public affairs, if he reads carefully through these four accounts, can help feeling that they have been composed by writers who had not a competent understanding of what they were attempting to describe. They present a travesty of legal procedure, though not an intentional travesty. It is not that the judges are made to act with injustice—judges have often acted with injustice—but that they are made to discharge their official duties in such an improbable manner. It is the kind of picture a pious

and simple-minded Christian, unversed in the ways of the world, would depict to himself of legal proceedings presided over by a persecutor of the Church.

In the second place it is clear that the four different accounts cannot be made to harmonise. Indeed, it is probable that the account in St. John's Gospel was written with the express intention of correcting the accounts in the other Gospels. Nevertheless, it is plain that the ground plan of the several narratives is the same; the fundamental facts are the same, but each writer works up his story with the purpose of presenting his own special view. In doing so they make use of the licence of their age and put in the mouths of their actors what they deem to be appropriate words.

Jesus was arraigned before the Synhedrion on the capital charge of blasphemy. The law required that there should be at least two witnesses. An enigmatic saying of His concerning the destruction of the temple —different versions are given in St. Mark and St. Matthew—was brought to the notice of the Court, but was not taken very seriously. The question of His Messianic pretensions was also brought before the Court. The gravest charge was that He made Himself to be the Son of God. It would depend, however, wholly on the interpretation given to these words whether they were blasphemy or not. Was the phrase to be taken in a spiritual or a materialistic sense? Jesus had taught His disciples to love their enemies that they might be the "sons of their Father which was in heaven." At any rate, the charge of blasphemy seems not to have been legally proved. Finally, according to the three Synoptic Gospels (but not according to St. John's Gospel) the presiding high priest addressed

a leading question direct to Jesus, and Jesus's answer was pronounced to be blasphemy, and the Court considered that He was liable to death. This very important incident, however, is told differently in each of the three Gospels. The Synhedrion, however, did not condemn Jesus to death on the charge of blasphemy and then apply formally to the Procurator to confirm their sentence. According to all four Gospels they sent Jesus as a prisoner to Pilate to be tried on the political charge of setting Himself up as a king in opposition to Cæsar. Pilate investigated this charge and came to the conclusion that Jesus had not been guilty of anything that could be considered either seditious or treasonable. He wished to acquit Him, but the Jewish leaders exerted all their influence and brought pressure to bear on Pilate, and he finally yielded against his better judgment. Accordingly Jesus was condemned under the Roman law to be crucified for claiming to be King of the Jews in opposition to Cæsar.

The conviction was wholly unjust.

What is the meaning of the curious discrepancies in the various Gospel accounts of the trial? There was undoubtedly a well-founded tradition that Jesus in this great crisis had in no way modified the high claims He had advanced in regard to His mission. He "made a good confession."

Following this tradition, the writers of the Gospels put into His mouth the words that expressed, as they thought, the highest truth concerning Himself.

When the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew were written, the leaders of the Church believed, under the influence of apocalyptic doctrine,

that Jesus was the super-human Son of Man who was shortly to reappear, coming in glory upon the clouds. Therefore they make Him say in reply to the high priest's question if he is the Son of God, *I am*, and also add the following irrelevant statement: "Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven."

When the Gospel of Luke was written, the generation of Jews responsible for the death of Jesus had perished in the destruction of Jerusalem; there was no longer any chance that they would see the Son of Man coming in glory on the clouds. Accordingly, in this Gospel Jesus is made to say in reply to the high priest's question: "From henceforth shall the Son of Man be seated at the right hand of the power of God."

Still later, when the Gospel of John was written, the conception of the supernatural Son of Man had been replaced by the even loftier conception of the Divine Logos, the Eternal Son of God. And therefore, although according to the Synoptic Gospels the condemnation of Jesus by the Synhedrion was actually decided on the ground of his reply to the high priest's leading question, yet this important incident finds no place whatsoever in the narrative of St. John's Gospel.

It seems certain, therefore, that none of the different eschatological sayings put into the mouth of Jesus during His trial is authentic.

But it will be asked, What of the eschatological teaching of St. Paul? The progressive changes, as the years passed by, in St. Paul's views on this, the great question of the first generation of Christians, are most illuminating. His early epistles are largely occupied

with the second coming. It is clear that at first he looked for a triumphant reappearance on the clouds within his own lifetime. This expectation was not founded on the teaching of Jesus in His lifetime to His disciples. St. Paul's attitude towards the earthly life of Jesus is thus expressed: "If we have known Christ after the flesh, now henceforth know we him no more." His belief was based partly on his interpretation of Jewish apocalyptic literature, of which he was a student, as is evidenced by verbal reminiscences in his epistles; but still more upon revelations made to him personally. There was first of all the vision and the voice on the journey to Damascus. But after that, and even more important, he believed he had been vouchsafed from time to time other revelations. He was convinced that he had been specially given a comprehensive vision of the purpose of God in history, and that the final act in the great drama of the world was at hand, and that he would be present and see it. In his later days this assurance seems to have faded away, and he gives expression to a different view which became the common view of ordinary Gentile Christianity. The following passages from his epistles given in their chronological order substantiate the above account of the gradual change in his views.

St. Paul's epistles to the Church at Thessalonica are the earliest of his extant letters. The death of certain members of this Church had raised the question of the condition of the dead, and he writes as follows: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we, that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in nowise precede them that are fallen asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with

a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

St. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians were written a few years later than the epistles to the Thessalonians.

In them a certain advance is to be observed in doctrine. The natural body is now to be raised a "spiritual body." The rest of the teaching is much the same. He writes: "Behold, I show you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised, incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For the corruptible must put on incorruption, and the mortal must put on immortality."

It is to be noted that in this epistle he warns his readers that "the time is short."

In the letters of his old age Paul's attitude is completely changed. The epistle to the Philippians is probably the latest of his extant letters. In it he writes: "For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better: Nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith; that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again." In this passage the alternative is not between death and remaining for the second coming, but it is between death now or death later on, when he would be still more advanced in years. Nor is death any longer

a sleep to be broken by the call of the last trump. Death is now regarded as the entrance to Heaven. Those who die are with the Lord. On the other hand, the eager expectation of the glorious coming upon the clouds has faded away.

From the quotations from his earlier epistles it is clear that St. Paul was largely responsible for the widespread and lively expectation of the second coming upon the clouds. Indeed, the great problem of New Testament criticism is to get back to the real teaching of the historic Jesus before the whole tradition was refracted and distorted in the powerful but intensely pharisaic mind of St. Paul.

All these various facts and considerations point towards one conclusion, namely, that the eschatological sayings and discourses and parables which form such a large portion of the teaching attributed to Jesus during the later period of His ministry and after His alleged resurrection are not in reality a genuine part of His teaching, but have been taken over from the utterances of the apocalyptic teachers and writers who exercised such a powerful but misleading influence on the thought of the early Church in the nerve-racking years between the crucifixion and the destruction of Jerusalem.

What have we left, then, of historical value in the Gospels? A considerable number of the sayings and parables of Jesus; a brief account of the beginnings of Christianity; the facts of the condemnation and crucifixion. There is not sufficient material for a biography, but it should be possible to form some conception of "Jesus after the flesh"; of the attitudes

He took up in the world of His day, of the character and spirit of His teaching, and of the work He set Himself to do.

The great difficulty in understanding the sayings of Jesus is to get behind the conventionalised interpretations that have become attached to them. His sayings were addressed to Jews of His own day and generation. In the original collection, the *Logia*, they were given detached from their context; and a saying can be properly understood only if it can be placed in its historical context. But some of the sayings as reported in the Gospels are manifestly given in a wrong context. The best method of arriving at the meaning is to consider—To what question is this saying an answer?

One example will suffice. Jesus's saying *Give to every one that asketh* has been the subject of adverse criticism. We know that He organised a fund to relieve distressed people. Suppose that the disciples who administered this fund reported that certain people were seeking help who were not followers of His. Jesus might well have replied, "Give to every one that asketh," meaning that help was to be given, irrespective of such considerations, but not irrespective of need.

Ordinarily the teaching of Jesus is treated as though it were a thing apart, different from any teaching ever given before or after. In this book a different practice obtains. There is constant endeavour to find in other great teachers parallelisms that illustrate the element of permanent significance in the teaching of Jesus. Surely if God is one, all goodness must also be one. It is on this principle an attempt is made in the following chapters to interpret the teaching of Jesus.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL JESUS

THIRTY-ONE years before the birth of Jesus the victory of Cæsar Octavianus at Actium put an end to the Roman civil war and marked the beginning of a new era—that of the Roman Empire—which for two hundred years gave a large measure of peace and a certain sense of security to the peoples living round the Mediterranean Sea. It is true that contemporary historians paint an unpleasant picture of Imperial Rome.

"Still," to quote from Professor Gilbert Murray, "when all deductions were made, the Roman Empire meant peace throughout the known world; it meant decent and fairly disinterested government; it protected honest men from thieves and robbers; it punished wrong-doers; it gave effective help to towns wrecked by blizzards or earthquakes, or to provinces where the crops had failed. It spread education and civilized habits; it put down the worst practices of savage superstition, and, if any improvement in the practice of governing human beings could be pointed out, on the whole a good Roman Governor was willing to consider it. If Pliny had been asked what was the greatest calamity that could befall the human race, he would probably have answered, 'The overthrow of the Roman Empire,' and it would have been hard to contradict him."

The peace established by the Roman Empire gave a new impulse to, and a still larger and more open

field for, the growth of Greek culture. Of the contributions of this people to the æsthetic and intellectual life of mankind, the following estimate is quoted from John Stuart Mill:—

"The Greeks are the most remarkable people who have yet existed. . . . They were the beginners of nearly everything Christianity excepted, of which the modern world makes its boast. . . . They were the first people who had an historical literature, as perfect of its kind (though not the highest kind) as their oratory, their sculpture, and their architecture. They were the founders of mathematics, physics, of the inductive study of politics, of the philosophy of human nature and life. To each they made the indispensable first steps, which are the foundation of all the rest."

A third people, the Jews, though weak politically and of limited culture, yet maintained steadfastly a peculiar position for themselves in this Græco-Roman world.

Cardinal Newman writes of them:—

"The Jews are one of the few Oriental nations who are known in history as a people of progress, and their line of progress is the development of religious truth. In that, their own line, they stand by themselves among all the populations, not only of the East, but of the West. Their country may be called the classical home of the religious principle, as Greece is the home of intellectual power, and Rome that of political and practical wisdom. Theism is their life; it is emphatically their natural religion; they were made a people by means of it. . . . On Theism and its revelation are moulded their laws and government; on this their politics, philosophy and literature are founded; of

this truth their poetry is the voice, pouring itself out in devotional compositions which Christianity through all its many countries and ages has been unable to rival; on this aboriginal truth, as time goes on, prophet after prophet bases his further revelations."

Another writer, J. G. Frazer, from a very different standpoint, expresses practically the same view:—

"To dwell on the traces of savagery and superstition is not to disparage that higher side of the Hebrew genius which has manifested itself in a spiritual religion and a pure morality and of which the Old Testament is the imperishable monument. On the contrary, the revelation of the baser elements which underlie the civilisation of modern Europe serves rather as a foil to enhance by contrast the glory of a people which from such dark depths of ignorance and cruelty could rise to such heights of wisdom and virtue. . . .

"The annals of savagery and superstition unhappily compose a large part of human literature, but in what other volume shall we find, side by side with that melancholy record, psalmists who poured forth their sweet and solemn strains of meditative piety in the solitude of the hills or in green pastures and beside still waters?"

On the place filled at this period by the Jews in the Græco-Roman world, the Italian historian, Ferrero, writes:—

"The Jews possessed some of the qualities which make them a force to-day; they were hardworking and thrifty; amid numberless sensual religions, they lived beneath an austere God who was a stern moral guardian, and not an obliging procurer of vice. . . . For a long time they had been obliged to emigrate in large

numbers, and had found admirable opportunities for expanding and making their fortunes as Hellenic civilisation broke up. They had formed considerable colonies, had acquired wealth and prosperity in all Eastern towns, in towns of Egypt and in Alexandria especially, in the towns of Asia Minor, and in those of Persia and Babylonia beyond the frontier. In every case they were a necessary part of the city population as artisans, merchants, or bankers. The majority lived very quietly; a certain number acquired a competence, while a few became enormously rich—the Rothschilds of the day. . . .

"Numerous, united, and hardworking, hated for their eccentricities and feared for their wealth, their inclinations and their yearnings were ever turned towards Jerusalem and its temple. They never forgot the Holy Land where Jehovah had His sanctuary; they often returned to their own country, or sent immense sums of money to the support of the national existence."

The Jewish people, thus widely dispersed among other nations, yet keeping themselves separate, had begun to assume the form of a Church rather than of a State. Their religious leaders and teachers, the Scribes and Pharisees, were turning more and more to the synagogue for the preservation and development of Judaism. The prestige and power of the high priests in Jerusalem was still great, but they were not generally trusted by the people. They were chosen from a small but wealthy aristocracy closely interconnected by marriage, and were usually the nominees of the secular power, either the reigning Herodian prince or the Roman representative. This governing class was Con-

servative and strict in matters of the Law, but was not in sympathy with the religious aspirations of the people. They are the Sadducees of the New Testament.

The ideal of political independence, however, still survived. The tradition of the successful rising under the Maccabees against the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to Hellenise the Jews had not been forgotten. Once again it was felt that the Gentile world threatened to submerge national hopes and aspirations. Feelings of unrest were widely prevalent. Moreover, there had sprung up a mysterious, but strongly felt, expectation that the long-cherished hopes of Israel were shortly to be fulfilled. It took various forms. Many believed that a divinely appointed king of the house of David would restore the prosperity of Israel. Others looked rather for a priestly ruler of the house of Levi. The imaginations of others were excited and coloured by the apocalyptic writings of the age.

In this time of ferment, suddenly, after a long cessation of the prophetic office, a new prophet makes his appearance, John the Baptist, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins as a preparation for the great national crisis which he announced as imminent.

A little later Jesus appears on the scene, the last and greatest of the Jewish prophets, and the originator of the world-wide movement that is called Christianity. Not much is known about Jesus except His sayings and parables and the fact of His crucifixion. He did not belong to a wealthy or noble or learned family. He was the son of a carpenter, and was brought up to that trade among the peasants of Galilee.

His sayings, however, reveal a great deal of His

mind and attitude. First and last he claimed to be a prophet to His generation. *A prophet is not without honour save in his own country*, and *it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem*. He spoke with a new accent of authority.

His manner of life, however, was far removed from that of the typical Jewish prophet. He mingled freely with all classes of people, eating and drinking with them; and His language, metaphors, and similes were drawn from the common things and the ordinary work of everyday life. Sublimity of diction He generally seemed to avoid. He warns His disciples especially against hypocrisy in religious matters, and "hypocrisy" in His mouth retained a good deal of its primary significance of stage-acting.

In His mode of expression Jesus followed largely the example of the Jewish Fathers in the use of short, pregnant sayings, almost epigrammatic in style, but He displays certain characteristic mannerisms which have not received due attention.

He makes use of expressions humorously exaggerated to the extent of caricature: *a beam in the eye*, *swallowing a camel*, etc.

He is fond of antithesis and paradox: *Whosoever will save his life, shall lose it. Love your enemies.* An extreme instance is the saying, *If any man come unto me, and hate not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brothers, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple.*

He warns His hearers sometimes not to take His words literally. *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*

It has also to be observed that Jesus does not qualify His statements. He lays down the general principle

emphatically and concisely without making provision for exceptional cases. This habit is the cause of apparent, sometimes of real, inconsistencies. It is not easy to reconcile the attitude of the saying, *Judge not, that ye be not judged*, with that of the saying, *Cast not your pearls before swine*. It has even created difficulties in the text of the Gospels; as in certain cases the early Church authorities felt themselves bound to add a qualifying clause to Jesus's statement of the principle. Thus they modified His condemnation of divorce by interpolating the words, *except for fornication*, and his condemnation of anger against a brother by the words, *without a cause*.

A distinctive feature of Jesus's teaching was His frequent use of the parable, the reason being His desire to reach the minds of the common people and to teach them in the way they could best apprehend—the very reverse of the reason alleged in the Gospels, namely, that hearing they might *not* understand.

Was Jesus ever enigmatical? His saying, *Not that which goeth into a man defileth a man, but that which cometh out of a man defileth a man*, is certainly enigmatical in expression.

The accusation brought against Him at His trial before the high priest that He used the words, *I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands*, was probably based on the misinterpretation of some enigmatical saying.

Jesus's canon for the interpretation of Scripture, *The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life*, must always be borne in mind in the interpretation of His own sayings and parables.

A sweet reasonableness, according to Matthew Arnold, was the chief characteristic of Jesus. It is true that He shows sweetness and tenderness to children and women and people in affliction. He could be fierce, however, on occasions, as at offences against children: *It is better that a millstone were hanged about his neck.* And when He drove the money changers out of the temple: *But ye have made it a den of thieves.* Of reasonableness in the ordinary acceptation of that term, there is not so much sign. Faith, not reason, was the basis of His attitude to the unseen. He is reasonable, however, in this sense, that He shows nothing of the fanatical spirit so common in the East. The hard ruthlessness of that temperament was utterly alien to Him. He warned all those who wished to become His official followers that they must first count the cost.

The fundamental characteristic of Jesus may be called faith or love of mankind or spiritual energy, according to the standpoint from which it is viewed. To quote Professor Henry Sidgwick: "It was faith in the conflict with baser and narrower impulses, love when it became emotion, moral energy as it took effect on the will." To a scientific age, such as the present, interested in questions of weighing and measuring, the energy point of view may prove impressive. It would be difficult to measure the change the life of Jesus has made in mankind.

Geniality in its good sense was a feature of the character of Jesus which the tragic circumstances of His death have tended to obscure, causing us to think of Him too exclusively as a man of sorrows. According to tradition apparently authentic, He enjoyed such kindly social gatherings among the well-to-do peasants of

Galilee as marriage feasts. Indeed, His answer is extant to the "unco' guid" who thought that participation in such feasting was inconsistent with the solemnity attaching to the prophetic office. These people, He said, were like perverse children who would neither dance when piped to nor mourn when a lament was played. John the Baptist they accused of having a devil on account of his asceticism; Jesus they said was a glutton and a winebibber because of His more genial way of life.

Jesus's attitude to eating and drinking shows the sanity of His mind. One aspect of it—His simplicity and moderation—is seen in the episode of His visit to Martha and Mary. While Mary listened to His words, Martha was cumbered with serving many dishes, and at last asks Him to bid Mary help her. He replies that she was troubling to get too many dishes; there was need only for a few, or even one dish. On the other hand, neither Jesus nor His disciples practised fasting. A man cannot go without food who does a hard day's work. *The labourer is worthy of his food.* But His defence of His mode of life took a different line: like the guests at a wedding feast, they were not in a mood for fasting.

Jesus is to be thought of, therefore, as usually happy in temperament and cheerful in manner. It has been remarked that the Gospel narrative tells us that He wept, but never that He smiled; but are we not told that He wept because it was an exceptional occurrence? He refused to anticipate future ill. *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.*

Jesus held converse with all sorts and conditions of men, among them, with "cruel, sunbaked Eastern fanatics," such as furnished the Zealots and assassins

in the revolt against Rome. To understand sayings like *Cut off your right hand*, or *Pluck our your right eye*, the nature of the age must be taken into account. Cruel mutilations, such as these, were common punishments in the East. Addressing violent men, Jesus bids them in hyperbolical language to punish themselves with these mutilations rather than continue to pursue their evil courses.

There is nothing in the sayings or example of Jesus that justifies the morbid self-torture of some of the Christian saints. He felt the evil of pain and disease in the world, and comforted people in deep sorrow with the assurance of consolation.

This willingness to meet all men on the broad standing ground of their common humanity was the reason for one of His designations—"Son of man"—an Aramaic phrase signifying "man" in the fullest and widest sense of that term.

A remarkable feature of Jesus's work was the practice of faith-healing, which He did with great, though not invariable, success, especially in cases of mental disorder. His attitude towards this branch of His work is noteworthy. At the beginning He bade people not to give publicity to His power of healing, as though He were in doubt whether it was His proper work. Later on these doubts seemed to vanish, and His disciples were instructed in the work as an important part of their ministry.

Faith-healing is not miraculous in the proper meaning of that term, though it is generally closely connected with religious thought and feeling.

Of Jesus's attitude towards the popular demand for miracles there are certain noteworthy indications in

the Gospels. He showed anger when the Pharisees asked for a sign from heaven. And in the legend of the Temptation He is represented as refusing to pray for miraculous relief to satisfy His bodily wants.

One of the outstanding features of Jesus's character was His instinctive sympathy for the poor and the oppressed, and for outcasts from the community, such as publicans and prostitutes. There are evidences scattered through the Gospels that His pity for the poor took practical shape, and that He organised through His disciples some system of relief. He justified the time and care He gave to sinners by the saying: *They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.*

To beauty in nature Jesus was responsive. As a remedy for the lesser cares of life He bade His disciples contemplate the beauty of the lilies of the field and the joyous life of the birds.

With the life of birds in particular Jesus seems to have been in close sympathy. Though five sparrows are sold for two farthings, *not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God.* He tells His disciples, indeed, that they are worth more than many sparrows, but He does not tell them, as is done in Christian dogmatic teaching, that an infinite difference separates the lower animals from man.

To the beauty of human architecture He appeared to be less susceptible. The graceful Greek buildings at Cæsarea and the wonders of the temple moved Him to indignation and sorrow rather than admiration. In the latter case He had been shocked by the sordid irreligion that sheltered itself within its courts; in the

former case He was probably indignant over the oppressive exactions which these costly buildings had necessitated.

Jesus appears to have been unaffected by the Greek science and philosophy of His day.

He was profoundly impressed by the sight of the starry heavens, but of mathematical astronomy, with its almost infinite scale of magnitudes in space and time, He probably had no conception.

He was interested in the curious biochemical action of leaven, but He had no anticipatory vision of the great theory of evolution.

He thought, as indeed was the general opinion of His day, that madness was due to demoniac possession, and treated cases successfully by faith-healing on that assumption, but He had no idea of scientific medicine.

His sole field was religious morality in its widest sense.

Like Socrates, the great philosopher of the Greeks, He believed Himself to be divinely commissioned to teach His people, and like Socrates He was thought by some of His contemporaries to be mad.

One more word on Jesus's attitude as a prophet. It has been remarked by Professor Bryce that "Whoever is absolutely sure that he is right is only a step away from persecution. To make true doctrines prevail becomes for him a duty." What was the attitude of Jesus, who was actually in this predicament? He forbade absolutely any recourse to violence in the prosecution of His mission. And though He thought He was inspired, He did not claim to possess accurate foreknowledge; nor did He claim to be perfect. *No one is good save God.*

Coming forward at this critical juncture in the history of the Jews and of mankind, Jesus proclaimed the advent of the Kingdom of God or the Kingdom of Heaven. The conception was not new. Prophets had spoken of the time when righteousness was to cover the earth. But two things were new: first, the actual phrase, the reign of God, or the reign of Heaven, had not been heard before; second, Jesus did not simply foretell, He actually inaugurated the movement towards its realisation.

In this movement Jesus aimed at the religious regeneration of His own people, and then through their agency at the conversion of the Gentiles. The world was His field, but His first mission was to His fellow-countrymen—the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

All good Jews had in the background of their thoughts the lofty destiny to which they believed their race had been called. The time had now come to make good their aspirations. Their destiny was not to remain an obscure nation. With a word-play on the situation of the Holy City, He said: *A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid*. In more homely phrase He tells the people that a man does not light a candle to put it under a bushel. The Jews are the salt of the earth, but if the salt has lost its savour, what is it good for?

He did not, however, as many religious reformers have done, advocate a return to the old paths. *New wine must be put in new bottles*. He refused to patch up the worn-out garments of Hebraism with His new cloth.

But Jesus paid the due tribute of respect to the past. He came, as He said, not to destroy, but to develop. Accordingly He did not break with Judaism. He spoke as a Jew to Jews, and based His teaching on the founda-

tion of the Jewish religion—faith in the God of Israel. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God; the Lord is one.* But a deeper and wider view was taken of the nature of religious obligation. The old danger of lapsing into pagan idolatry had indeed passed, but the new age had its own temptations. There was the idolatry of riches. Duty to God was to be supreme, *No man can serve two masters. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.*

He gave a greatly extended scope to the old commandments that dealt with social obligations.

The commandment to do no murder was extended into the forbidding of uncontrolled anger that found its vent in contemptuous and abusive epithet.

The commandment against adultery was extended into forbidding lewd looks.

Divorce was condemned. It must be admitted the system of divorce obtaining among the Jews could not be justified. A man could divorce his wife by simply giving her written notice.

The commandment against perjury was extended into forbidding oaths altogether. There was to be but one standard of truthfulness and honour, not two standards, as the taking of an oath implies. A man's yea was to be yea and his nay, nay.

The commandment against stealing was extended into the injunction to give good measure, pressed down and shaken together, for *with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.*

The old law of retaliation—*an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth*—which limited the revenge that the injured party could exact, was replaced by a new rule not to return evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good.

The Jews were disliked generally by people of other nationalities. They were helpful and kindly to one another, but they had deservedly a bad reputation for their discourtesy and disobliging behaviour to strangers. The old command to love their neighbours, i.e. their fellow-Jews, is now extended into the command, *Love your enemies*, i.e. the Gentiles. The reason is given: *That ye may be sons of your Father in heaven. For God maketh the sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.*

Jesus also laid emphasis on a proper sense of proportion and value; there were more weighty matters of the law and less weighty.

He also abrogated certain superstitious usages that were oppressing unduly the lives and consciences of the people, such as the rigidity of Sabbath observance and the elaborate restrictions regarding cleanness of food. His saying on the Sabbath was revolutionary in character: *The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.* His saying regarding the Pharisaic dietary regulations was equally so: *It is not what enters into a man that defiles him, but the thoughts that come out of him.*

Here it must be observed that though Jesus was probably at first a strict Jew in His observance of the law, yet, as His views developed, His nature began to revolt against the innumerable and meticulous requirements of the Jewish ritual of His day. Finally, He declares the burden to be unbearable. The question how far He went in disallowing the binding authority of Jewish ceremonial law became after His death a matter of dispute among the leaders of the Church. He did not

promulgate a fixed and final code. Room was left for growth. The scribe of the Kingdom of Heaven was to bring things new as well as old out of his treasury. More and more, however, in His teaching He lays stress on the inward nature of true religion. He quotes with approval the summary of the law and the prophets as two commandments, to love God with all one's power, and to love one's neighbour as one's self. At the same time He insists that inward religion is not genuine unless it is productive of good deeds in practice. *A tree is known by its fruits.*

But perfection in the new way of Jesus, as a short experience sufficed to show, was far beyond man's power of attainment. *It is impossible but that offences will come. There is no one good save God.*

What then is left? The forgiveness of sins continues to remain indispensable. And Jesus teaches that if men pray that their sins be forgiven, then they must forgive those who sin against them.

How did Jesus organise His propaganda? In the first instance He chose twelve men from His followers and appointed them His missioners. These men had no money nor learning nor influence, nor were they apparently men of great natural ability. On what principle were they selected? Apparently mainly for steadfastness. *No man who putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the service of the Kingdom of Heaven.* Four of them were fishermen by trade, and with a touch of humour He invited them to become fishers of men.

Later on, as the field of work widened, other missioners were appointed in addition to the twelve. We read of seventy being sent out, probably beyond the

confines of Judæa. As the movement grew in popularity, a number of volunteers came forward, but many candidates proved unsuitable; as Jesus said, *Many are called, but few are chosen.*

In this fashion was commenced the work of the reformation of the world by the sole method of pacific persuasion. The apparent disparity of the means to the contemplated end is made the subject of a parable. The mustard seed is the smallest of seeds, but it grows into a great tree, and the birds of the air make their habitation in its branches.

The work of the missioner He compares to that of the sower. Some seed is wasted, falling on unsuitable places; but when it falls on good soil, it produces a rich return. And in another parable He teaches that as the seed requires time to germinate and grow underground, so the word must be patiently given time to do its work secretly in the human heart.

It is probable that the sayings of Jesus which deal with manners—not morals—and matters of expediency were instructions for His somewhat uncouth and inexperienced missioners. He bids them, if they are invited to a feast, to take a low seat rather than a high one. He advises them also, if they get involved in any legal trouble, as might easily happen on their journeyings, to come to terms quickly, so that they may not be thrown into prison—often a difficult place to get out of in that time. They were to be *wise as serpents and harmless as doves.*

But the chief aim of His instructions was to inspire them with faith, courage, and energy. They were to take no money with them and no surplus clothing. They were to inquire who was worthy in the towns

they visited and ask hospitality of them. *Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.* Such was the spirit in which they were to approach their work. Nor were they to give way to timidity. If rudely assaulted when engaged in their mission work, they were neither to offer active resistance nor were they to retire. If slapped on one cheek, they were to turn the other cheek. If they were brought before kings and governors, they were not to be anxious beforehand concerning their defence. Nor were they to fear death: *he that loseth his life, will gain it.* Above all, they were to work. *Work while it is day.*

It is curious to observe that St. Francis in the Middle Ages, and the Salvation Army in modern times, reproduced certain characteristic methods and attitudes of Jesus. In his first missions St. Francis sent out his brethren, as Jesus sent His missioners, without money and without material means, to live upon charity. The Salvation Army adopted the same policy of non-resistance to the rough handling they were subjected to when they first made their appearance in the streets.

It is recorded that quarrels and rivalry about precedence soon disturbed the harmony of the disciples and required the intervention of Jesus. They are told not to be too critical of one another, and not to get angry and apply to one another the contemptuous name of "fool." He firmly refused to give any one of them precedence over the others. In this connection He uttered one of His distinctive sayings: *Let him that would be first be the servant of all.*

Thus a new religious association of brotherhood

came into being, accepting the teaching of Jesus, but remaining within the corporate body of conforming Judaism; it was the leaven to leaven the whole lump. How great was the success of the new movement is shown by the interest and excitement aroused by Jesus's last entry into Jerusalem. It shows that the fame of the great Galilean prophet had reached the ears of the many thousands of pilgrims who thronged to the great feasts at Jerusalem.

Fundamentally, however, this new conception of the Kingdom of Heaven ran counter to the traditional policy of the Jewish national leaders. This policy was summarised in the epigrammatic formula *to surround Jerusalem with a wall and to raise up a fence to the law.* The success of the new movement gradually aroused opposition, and a strong reaction followed. Communities, even the same families, were sharply divided. The early popularity is testified to by the saying: *He that is not with me is against me;* the reaction by the saying: *He that is not against me is with me.*

With the three chief ecclesiastical or political parties among the Jews Jesus came into collision—the Scribes and Pharisees, the fanatical or physical force party, afterwards called the Zealots, and the priests and Sadducees.

The Scribes and Pharisees were the religious leaders and teachers of the people. They corresponded roughly in standing and function to the clergy of the present day, or, it would be more correct to say, to the clergy and lawyers combined. They were the learned profession, and were the channel through which the religious tradition was transmitted from generation to generation. In the words of Jesus, they sat in Moses's

seat, and He bade His disciples to do what they said.

The personal attitude of Jesus towards this class of His fellow-countrymen is a question of primary importance. The *odium theologicum* is notoriously bitter and unreasonable. Certain representatives of the Pharisaic party accused Jesus of casting out devils by the aid of the chief of the devils, to which Jesus made the rejoinder that in that case the Kingdom of Evil was divided against itself. Did His imagination cause Him to take up an antagonistic attitude to the whole class and bring sweeping charges of hypocrisy, maliciousness, and rapacity against all of them indiscriminately? He is made to do so in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, but a careful examination of the evidence will show that this conflation of "woes" is not a correct representation of His attitude.

Jesus certainly warned His disciples against hypocrisy, "the leaven of the Pharisees." "Hypocrisy," however, had not in His mouth the odious connotation it has since acquired; it meant rather what we term "formalism," or "sanctimoniousness," in religious affairs. The special danger of people professing high religious ideals is to fall into the habit of using on the ordinary levels of life language that is the appropriate expression of moments of exaltation. By calling it "leaven" Jesus means that this incipient insincerity may go on increasing till it completely corrupts a man's religious feelings. There were hateful examples of this complete corruption to be found in men who, trading on their reputation for piety, "devoured widows' houses." But the religion of many Pharisees was genuine; Jesus Himself said so; He even singled

out one for high commendation and said he was not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.

Reference is frequently made to Jesus's denunciations of the Pharisees; but is "denunciation" quite the proper word? The words translated *woe to you* might be translated *alas for you*; they express commiseration quite as much as anger. The same words are applied to the pitiable condition of women with child in the terrible time preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. There was no thought of denouncing them.

In one saying of Jesus there is shown a sympathetic insight into the attitude of some of the older Pharisees. Religious feeling is conservative, and some of the older generation must have felt genuine distress at the new teaching. Having tasted the old wine, they did not, as Jesus says, like the new wine.

Still, the general judgment of Jesus on the religious teachers of His day was severely condemnatory. They observed the letter of the law, but they had lost the spirit of the law. Their religion had become legal and external; they washed only the outside of the cup.

The numerous, meticulous restrictions regulating eating and drinking were producing a very evil result; they were creating a caste system with a large class of common people, many of them not at all vicious, outside the pale of religious respectability. The fact that Jesus made a point of eating with such people was the cause of great scandal.

There had also sprung up an ugly and heartless system of casuistry in the interpretation of the law.

A man might pull his ox out of a pit on the Sabbath, but he must not practise healing on a fellow-man on that day.

If a man told his father that any filial obligation due to him was *corban*, a gift to God, he was thereby released from any further obligation to assist his father.

Perjury was condoned. If a man swore by the altar, his oath was not binding. To bind himself, he must swear by the gift on the altar.

One saying of Jesus clearly defines His final attitude to Pharisaism. He told His disciples that, unless their righteousness exceeded that of the Pharisees, they would not enter on that new state of things described as the Kingdom of Heaven. This means that the righteousness of the Pharisees, though genuine, was not of a type that would convince and convert the world. And, indeed, it cannot be denied that at this critical juncture the leaders of the people showed themselves to be entirely without vision. *They were blind leaders of the blind.*

There can be no better commentary on this saying than the following description of the school of Shammai, the dominating Pharisaic school in the time of Jesus. It is taken from Graetz's *History of the Jews*, a book written from the Jewish national standpoint:—

"It seemed impossible to the school of Shammai to place any limits to the religious prohibitions—the decisions which they arrived at, and their explanations of the intricacies of the law were so minute and dictatorial, that any simple and natural decision became almost unknown. Thus according to their opinions no work should be attempted, even by one who was not a Judæan, which, if commenced any time before the Sabbath, could not be completed by the Sabbath. It was prohibited on the Sabbath Day to give sums of money for charitable purposes; to make arrangements

for marriage contracts; to instruct children; to visit the sick, or even to bring comfort to the sorrowful. . . . But in spite of their own rigid obedience to the law, they did not exact the same obedience from the Judæan troops who were fighting against the national enemy. Originally there had been some hesitation about making war on the Sabbath, but now the school of Shammai were unconditionally in favour of it; the siege of a hostile city, commenced before the Sabbath, should not be raised, in spite of transgressing the Sabbath law, until the fortress surrendered. These ordinances were instituted by Shammai himself, in whom hatred of the heathen was even greater than his religious devotion. The school of Shammai had a large number of adherents in the Synhedrion as well as among the people. Their religious austerity and their hatred of the heathens found more sympathisers than the moderation and peacefulness of the followers of Hillel. They consequently formed the majority, and were able to carry out all their resolutions."

Surely it was hopeless to attempt to work in co-operation with a party of fanatics and bigots such as these.

The physical force or fanatical party, later known as the Zealots, desired to shake off the sovereignty of Rome and to restore the Jewish Kingdom. Jesus Himself may have once considered the feasibility of an appeal to arms. In the legend of the Temptation He is represented as being tempted by the glory of the Kingdom of this world, that is, by military glory. But if He ever did think of it, He put the thought resolutely away. The Jews had themselves petitioned the Roman Emperor to take over the government of the country. The Roman rule was on the whole just, and was remarkably

tolerant towards all the observances of the Jewish law. Jesus was able to say: *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's,* with the implication that the two obligations were not incompatible.

A great deal of Jesus's teaching seems to have been directed against the political activities of this party. His saying *Love your enemies* probably referred especially to the Romans. His saying *He who draws the sword will perish by the sword* was probably addressed as a warning to sympathisers with the physical force party.

His saying *Where the body is, there the eagles are gathered together,* was probably uttered when reinforcements were sent to the Roman garrison because of the Jewish unrest.

A great deal of Jesus's later unpopularity was due to His unwavering attitude in this matter. The more fanatical Jews stuck at nothing. These were the violent men who harried the Kingdom of Heaven. Jesus said to His disciples that He sent them out as lambs among wolves. Evidently from the references in the Gospels there was much persecution, the details of which have not been recorded. Assassination was one of their methods. His own life was in constant danger. He was hunted from place to place. *Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.* Probably this is the explanation of His instruction to His disciples to purchase swords. It was right for His disciples to defend themselves and Him against assassination, though not against arrest by the legitimate authorities. His saying, *I have brought not peace, but a sword,* belongs to this troubled time.

Towards the end of His ministry He felt that His warnings to the people had been uttered in vain. From this time on a premonition of impending national ruin overshadowed His spirit. It is recorded that He wept at the sight of the great and famous city, doomed by the blind fanaticism of its people to destruction. *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!*

Thirty years later all came to pass much as He had foreseen. The city was taken and destroyed; the temple, one of the seven wonders of the world, was demolished so completely that not one stone was left standing upon another; and the inhabitants were exterminated.

Henceforward the Jewish theocratic State, with its hierarchy of priests and solemn sacrificial worship and great annual feasts, disappears for ever from the world scene.

It was the custom of the Romans that their subject States should be governed each through its own aristocratic class as much as was practicable. Among the Jews this class consisted mainly of the families from whom the high priest was chosen—the high priests and Sadducees, as they are called in the Gospels. The leaders of this ruling caste were men of experience and skill in the craft of government and practical administration. Jesus came but little in contact with them during His ministry, but it was through them He met His death.

The political outlook was threatening in Judæa, and any tumult or rioting was viewed with displeasure by their Roman masters. The ex-high priest Caiaphas

considered that the public execution of some prominent popular leader would have a good effect in sobering the people before they got out of hand, and Jesus was selected as the victim. He had had a tumultuous reception in the city, and had also rendered Himself obnoxious to the priestly party. His bold action in clearing the temple courts of dealers and money-changers affected one of the main sources of the temple revenue.

Accordingly, to prevent any chance of a tumult, Jesus was arrested through the treachery of one of the twelve suddenly and at night. He was tried before the Jewish High Court on the charge of blasphemy, but He seems not to have been convicted on this charge, but on another charge brought against Him by the Jewish leaders before the Roman Procurator of making Himself King of the Jews in opposition to Cæsar.

Jesus had foreseen and foretold His doom, the predestined doom of a prophet in Israel. He now faced it as the necessary consummation of His prophetic mission. Before His judges He comported Himself with dignity and restraint. He was certainly *not* like a sheep dumb before its shearers. His bearing seems to have made a deep impression upon the Roman Procurator, who endeavoured to save His life, but was overborne by the persistence of the accusers. And so Jesus suffered the cruel and ignominious penalty of death on the cross—the form of execution reserved for the most degraded malefactors.

The crucifixion of Jesus is accounted the most tragic event in the history of mankind. Similar in character, but far less poignant to the consciences of

humanity, are the deaths of Socrates and Joan of Arc. Tragedy purifies human passions. The following beautiful lines express the effect which Jesus's death has had upon the best of His followers:—

> When I survey the wondrous cross
> On which the Prince of Glory died,
> My greatest gain I count but loss,
> And pour contempt on all my pride.

It is a small matter, but worthy of remark. The cross, which was the mark of the lowest depth of human degradation, has become the symbol of all that is noblest in human achievement.

A short time before He expired Jesus uttered a supreme cry of agony: *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Was this a cry of despair? Did He feel that His life had been spent in vain? No one can answer. It is true that He failed in His great aim of saving the Jewish nation. It moved on to national ruin. But He saved a considerable number of the best. Moreover, through the devoted labours of these followers, Christians as they were called, in less than three hundred years after His death, the old pagan worships of the people dwelling round the Mediterranean had been replaced by a new spiritual religion, which, though containing many accretions, was yet founded upon the teaching of Jesus.

And at the present day Christianity is, in name at least, the religion professed by the most civilised and the most powerful portion of the human race. Here again failure must be confessed. The Christian Church, beneficent though on the whole its influence on the world has been, cannot be described with truth as the

realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth. The Great War, by which nineteen hundred years after the birth of Jesus Christendom was divided into two opposing camps, and in which the ruthless destructiveness of all previous wars was surpassed, leaves that beyond dispute. Still, failure though it be, the failure of Jesus has been more wonderful than any other man's success.

But how stands it with His teaching? His words were to outlast the heavens and the earth. What hope is there of the life and immortality which were, it was believed, brought to light in the Gospel of Jesus? This is the supremely important question for mankind to-day.

CHAPTER III

GOD AND ETERNAL LIFE

THE purpose of this chapter is to show that the so-called orthodox Christian doctrine concerning God and Eternal Life, which is based mainly on the teaching of St. Paul, differs widely from the teaching of Jesus; and further that, while St. Paul's doctrine has been discredited by the discoveries of modern science, it is otherwise with the teaching of Jesus, which, though expressed in language appropriate to His day and generation, nevertheless still gives utterance to the hope, or perhaps it would be truer to say the ineradicable desire, of the better part of the human race.

The fundamental propositions of Pauline Theology may be briefly summarised thus:—

The world was alienated from God by Adam's sin. He fell from his high estate, and all mankind inherited the corrupted nature of their progenitor. By sin came death into the world and all the other evils that befall mankind. But the mercy of God provided a way of salvation. In the fullness of time He sent His only begotten Son, who became flesh, and after leading a sinless life, died on the cross, and by this perfect sacrifice atoned for Adam's sin. All who accept through faith the atonement thus made receive the gift of eternal life.

The doctrines thus briefly recapitulated of the Fall, the Incarnation, and the Atonement constitute the chief doctrines of so-called orthodox Christian theology.

The great discoveries of modern science, however, especially the epoch-making discovery of evolution, have radically changed man's conceptions of the history of the world. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the theory of evolution has effected a revolution in his mental attitude: he no longer looks backwards towards a Paradise lost; he looks forward now and believes in progress.

The story of the Fall of Man must be regarded, therefore, merely as an ancient myth of no profound significance. Undoubtedly there has been decadence in certain peoples at certain periods, but for man in general there has been fairly steady progress upwards from the brute. He has made advances in knowledge, in power over nature, in moral purpose, in freedom, in humanity.

Death also is now recognised as a necessary incident in the natural order of things, and medical science has shown that disease and pain are in general due, not to sin, but to some natural phenomenon—such as the invasion of noxious bacteria—which has in many cases no connection with the sufferer's moral conduct. The introduction of anæsthetics, aseptic surgery, and the prevention of disease by sanitary science have effected a wonderful decrease in the amount of human misery. Ignorance, not sin, has been the cause of much of man's unhappiness and suffering.

The old theological conception of sin also has been modified. It is true that man has evil propensities. There is original sin in a very real sense of that phrase, due to man's origin from brutal ancestors. But it is now felt that a man cannot be justly held accountable for his own heredity or his early environment, as he has

no control over these things, and yet they are important factors in the formation of character.

Further, it is now recognised that what used to be considered sin may be due sometimes largely to disease.

When all this new knowledge is taken into account, the conclusion inevitably follows that the Pauline theory of the hand of God in human history, which has dominated Christian theology for nearly two thousand years, must be finally and completely discarded as in direct conflict with both science and conscience.

Further, as regards immortality, the unhappy argument for the resurrection of the body which St. Paul bases on the analogy of the buried seed is superficial to a degree. "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." It *is* just because it does not die that the seed is quickened and rises again above the ground.

An epitome of the teaching of Jesus concerning God and immortality will now be given as it is recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. It must be remembered that He was not learned, and His mind acted intuitively and not on the lines of Rabbinic reasoning congenial to St. Paul.

Mankind have a "Father in heaven," or a "Father in secret" and "Who seeth in secret."

The metaphor in the term "Father" implies that God cares for men and has authority over them, but more remotely and more sternly than if the correlative term "mother" had been used.

The phrase "in heaven" suggests those ideas of sublimity and peace and purity which the contemplation of the heavens has always excited in the mind of man.

The phrase "in secret" may be translated more

accurately as "hidden." God is a "Hidden God." A science of God or a theology is therefore impossible. We know only that He alone is good. *No one is good save God.*

Can a man approach God? Yes, in three ways:—

1. By prayer. Prayer should be in solitude and should be brief, avoiding vain repetitions.
2. By works of pity. These fill the place which sacrifice held in the older religious practice. *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.*
3. By fasting. It is noteworthy, however, that, as has been already observed, Jesus and His disciples did not fast. As propitiatory sacrifice developed into works of pity, so fasting was to develop into self-discipline and self-control.

These three means of access to God are rendered unavailing, Jesus says, if performed with an eye to the approval of men.

The first and great commandment is: *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.* In practice, as Jesus explains again and again, this means *doing the will of God.* In modern phraseology it would be expressed as doing one's highest duty.

The striking saying, *If thy eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light*, is best illustrated by reference to what is termed in modern ethical theory "the higher moral self." In the last resort the supreme authority for a man is an enlightened conscience, higher than the authority of either Church or State. Sincerity is the fundamental condition for this enlightenment.

The culmination is reached in the beatitude: *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*

Over and beyond the sense of duty or conscience is the gift of the Spirit of God. Jesus told His missioners that the Spirit of God would be given to them as they might need it, as, for instance, when they should be brought for trial before kings and governors. In modern phraseology they would be inspired with extraordinary wisdom and courage to meet extraordinary difficulties or to perform extraordinary services.

There is an obscure saying of Jesus on sin against the Holy Spirit and its irreparable nature. Apparently it means failure on the man's part at such a crisis to respond courageously to the inward call.

Of the problem of the existence of sin and pain and death, Jesus offers no solution. He controverted the common opinion that special accidents and disease were punishments sent from God on account of special sin. The men on whom the tower of Siloam fell were not sinners more than other men. The blind man owed his blindness neither to his own sins nor to those of his parents. Nor does the theory of special providences in the physical world find support in His teaching. The sun arises and the rain falls on good and evil alike.

The analogy between sin and disease, which has been the subject of thought in modern times, Jesus not only recognised—*They that are whole need not the physician, but they that are sick*—but He even in certain cases adopted the same treatment for both—faith-cure. *Thy sins are forgiven thee.* One of the designations by which He has become known was given in recognition of this analogy—the physician of souls.

With respect to eternal life, Jesus's teaching, if carefully examined, seems to indicate a belief in continued

existence after death, rather than the belief, popularly held at the time, in the resurrection of the body. The ground of this faith is given in one of his more profound sayings. Recalling the familiar phrase, *The God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob*, He says: *God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.*

Nor does eternal life move along the lines of an earthly paradise. In it *there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage.*

It seems, therefore, as if the creed of Jesus consisted simply of faith in God, and this faith carried with it the hope that death is not extinction.

These two things constitute, consciously or unconsciously, the foundations of religion.

"It is justly said," writes John Morley, "that at the bottom of all the great discussions of modern society lie the two momentous questions, first whether there is a God; second, whether the soul is immortal. . . . It is true of most people when they are talking of evolution and the origin of species, and the experiential or intuitional source of ideas, and the utilitarian or transcendental basis of moral obligation, these are the questions they really have in their minds."

The all-important question for us is, therefore: Has modern science, among the other great changes it has effected, undermined these foundations of religion?

The trend of scientific thought to-day is thus described by a competent physiologist, Professor Haldane:—

"Medical observations have shown that even the highest and most subtle moral and intellectual faculties are dependent on the functional integrity of various parts of the body, such as the lungs, heart, kidneys, or

thyroid gland. Accumulating evidence seems to prove more and more clearly that what was formerly attributed to the action of a non-material soul on a material body depends in reality on material conditions. The new knowledge gives far wider scope to practical philanthropy, but at the same time seems to lead us on to a materialistic fatalism in which the old spiritual values have disappeared. The Universe appears as a material universe which in some mysterious way has become conscious of itself in man and higher animals, but is otherwise nothing more than a ceaseless and meaningless interaction of atoms and electrons."

Professor Haldane himself takes a spiritual view of the universe. The creed, therefore, of materialistic philosophy will be stated as propounded by one of its ablest and most earnest exponents. The following quotations are taken from Bertrand Russell's *A Freeman's Worship*:—

1. "That man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving; that his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs, are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms; that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave; that all the labours of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noon-day brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the Solar System, and that the whole temple of man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins—all these things, if not quite beyond dispute, are yet so nearly certain, that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand. Only within the scaffolding of these

truths, only on the firm foundation of unyielding despair, can the soul's habitation henceforth be safely built."

2. "For man, condemned to-day to lose his dearest, to-morrow himself to pass through the gate of darkness, it remains only to cherish, ere yet the blow falls, the lofty thoughts that ennoble his little day; disdaining the coward terrors of the slave of Fate to worship at the shrine that his own hands have built; undismayed by the empire of chance, to preserve a mind free from the wanton tyranny that rules his outward life. . . . In action, in desire, we must submit perpetually to the tyranny of outside forces; but in thought, in aspiration, we are free, free from our fellow-men, free from the petty planet on which our bodies impotently crawl, free even, while we live, from the tyranny of death."

Many able and honest men are convinced that the forecast given in the first of these extracts of the final and complete annihilation of humanity is true, and many more fear that it may be true. Yet surely Mr. Russell overstates the case when he says it is practically certain. If that were so, the fact could be expressed mathematically as the solution of a problem in probability, but there are not sufficient data for the statement of the problem.

There are at present two great and opposing hypotheses in the world of thought. On the one hand there is the conception of Nature as a blind system of mechanical forces—"of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving." This hypothesis has proved wonderfully useful in scientific investigations into the physical and chemical properties of matter. On the other hand there is the conception of

man as a free, rational, and responsible agent, which underlies all modern systems of law and government. This hypothesis has also worked very successfully. It has done much for the advancement of civilisation, science itself, indeed, being one of its fruits. But the two hypotheses are contradictory. The idea of an endless chain of cause and effect, with its logical consequence of the inevitability of all that happens, is irreconcilable with the idea of any degree of freedom. And yet in the second extract Mr. Russell emphasises man's freedom in what are ordinarily termed spiritual affairs, and indeed holds up to man's scorn the natural process, of which man is himself an insignificant portion—surely a strange and inconceivable resultant of purely blind and mechanical forces.

If man is free even to a limited degree—and he can never quite accept the doctrine that he is merely a machine—this freedom seems to point to the existence of something of a higher order than matter behind the materialistic appearance of the world.

Professor Haldane, who has already been quoted, does not doubt the connection between what are called material processes and what are called mental and spiritual phenomena, but he argues thus:—

"The fundamental conceptions of physical science represent only working hypotheses corresponding, under great limitations, to partial aspects of our experience. Extraordinarily useful as these working hypotheses are in the absence of more detailed knowledge, they do not represent reality.

"When we take into account all that appears in conscious life, in our conscious fellowship with one another, with those who have gone before or will

come after, and with Nature, God is revealed as the ultimate and only reality."

Does not the conclusion of this argument signify something similar to the saying of Jesus, *God is the God of the living*? There seems to be a profound truth in the saying, but it is difficult for an ordinary mind to develop further the logical analysis of its meaning.

Is there, then, any other way of approaching the question? There is a hint in the Hebrew phrase, *The God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob.* Their fathers had faced sorrow and danger and death through their faith in God. In the faith that such reality exists behind the phenomena of Nature the best and wisest of the human race have lived, and in some cases have given up their lives.

The best way of approaching this great question, therefore, is to consider it as it is presented to us in the lives and thought of such men, whether they be Christians or non-Christians. The rest of this chapter will consist of quotations for the most part taken from the biographies of men of high character and outstanding ability, though not in many cases professing Christians. The personal attitude of these men to the fundamental religious beliefs is exhibited in these quotations, which have been selected by preference from private letters and the reports of private conversations, because the real attitude of a man is revealed more truly in such documents than in his more guarded and elaborate public utterances. If what they think on these questions be carefully considered and compared with the teaching of Jesus, after proper allowance has been made for the different modes of expression, it will be found that they throw light on one another,

and, though there are wide differences in intensity of feeling, yet in regard to the underlying thought there is much more real agreement with the teaching of Jesus than first impressions would convey.

Comments and criticisms in certain cases are attached, but they have been made as concise as possible. The order is roughly chronological and all are modern, that is, belong to the nineteenth century and after.

WORDSWORTH.—The following passage from Wordsworth is the only passage of poetry directly quoted in this argument:—

> "And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thoughts,
> And rolls through all things."

THOMAS CARLYLE.—The following passage is taken from the diary of Thomas Carlyle when he was seventy-three years of age. Speaking of the theory that the sun was made by the collision of huge masses in space, he says:—

"But what has it to do with the existence of the Eternal Unnamable? Fools! It widens the horizon of my imagination, fills me with deeper and deeper wonder and devout awe.

" No prayer, I find, can be more appropriate still to

express one's feelings, ideas, and wishes in the highest direction than that universal one of Pope:—

> Father of all! in ev'ry age,
> In every clime, adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!
>
> Thou Great First Cause, least understood,
> Who all my sense confined,
> To know but this, that Thou art good,
> And that myself am blind.

"Not a word of that requires change for me at this time if words are to be used at all.

"The antique first thinker naturally gave a human personality and type to this supreme object, yet admitted too that in the deepest depths of his anthropomorphism it remained 'inconceivable,' 'past finding out.'

"Let us cease to attempt shaping it, but at no moment forget that it veritably is.

" 'Inspired by the Almighty,' men might well think. What else is it in all times that 'giveth men understanding'?"

RENAN.—The following passage from Taine's *Life* gives Renan's view of the mystery of the Universe:—

"He (Renan) admits that he only perceives phenomena and their laws, that beyond lies an abyss, an *x* whence they derive, that we suspect something, very little of it, through the sense of duty; we only know that in that Beyond there is something Sublime which corresponds to the sublimity of our sense of duty. In any case that something is not a Person. Personality and individuality are only to be met with at the other

end of Physiology, at the extremity of phenomena and not their beginning. Therefore there is no personal God."

HERBERT SPENCER.—Herbert Spencer thus describes his change of attitude in his later years towards religious questions. The quotations are taken from the supplementary chapter of his Autobiography:—

"Largely, however, if not chiefly, this change of feeling towards religious creeds and their sustaining institutions has resulted from a deepening conviction that the sphere occupied by them can never become an unfilled sphere, but that there must continue to arise afresh the great questions concerning ourselves and surrounding things; and that, if not positive answers, then modes of consciousness standing in place of positive answers must ever remain."

CHARLES DARWIN.—Of the following quotations the first is taken from the *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, the second from *The Voyage of the "Beagle."*

"If we consider the whole Universe, the mind refuses to look at it as the outcome of chance."

Speaking of the Brazilian forests, he writes:—

"No one can stand in these solitudes unmoved, and not feel that there is more in man than the mere breath of his body."

T. H. HUXLEY.—The following quotations are from Professor Huxley:—

1. "It is a curious thing that I find my dislike to the thought of extinction increasing as I get older and nearer the goal."

2. "The engagement of the affections in favour of

that particular kind of conduct which we call good, seems to me to be something quite beyond mere science. And I cannot but think that it, together with the awe and reverence which have no kinship with base fear, but arise whenever one tries to pierce below the surface of things, whether they be material or spiritual, constitutes all that has any unchangeable reality in religion."

PASTEUR.—Professor Osler writes that Pasteur was in his opinion "the most perfect man who has ever entered the Kingdom of Science." Pasteur's creed, "beautifully expressed in his eulogy upon Littré," is as follows:—

"He who proclaims the existence of the Infinite—and none can avoid it—accumulates in that affirmation more of the supernatural than is to be found in all the miracles of all the religions; for the notion of the Infinite presents that double character that it forces itself upon us, and yet is incomprehensible. When this notion seizes upon our understanding, we can but kneel. . . . The idea of God is a form of the idea of the Infinite. As long as the mystery of the Infinite weighs on human thoughts, temples will be erected for the worship of the Infinite, whether God is called Brahma, Allah, Jehovah, or Jesus; and on the pavements of those temples men will be seen kneeling, prostrated, annihilated in the thought of the Infinite."

J. H. FABRE.—The following is taken from the biography of the venerable French naturalist, J. H. Fabre. He was asked at the age of ninety if he still believed in God.

"I can't say I believe in God; I see Him. Without Him I understand nothing; without Him all is dark-

ness. Not only have I retained this conviction, I have aggravated it or ameliorated it, whichever you please. Every period has its manias. I regard atheism as a mania."

JANE WELSH CARLYLE.—The following is an extract from a letter of Mrs. Carlyle to a young cousin who was in much trouble. After saying that she herself had suffered and under more terrible conditions, she writes thus:—

"*Wait* and hope for the dawn in patient faith. There is no use in tormenting oneself into got-up good spirits. That is, as it were, to light a parcel of farthing candles, and call that 'the dawn'! . . . Wait—not in sloth indeed—but in inward prayer—with your face towards the East—till the true God-sent brightness comes—pours itself afresh over all your world and into the depths of your soul—you know not how—but no matter how, so it be there! Oh *that* is joy! such as one knew not of before having suffered!"

BENJAMIN JOWETT.—The following quotation is taken from the *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*:—

"I shall never give up the faith in immortality, though I cannot determine or conceive the manner of another state of being. That Christ became a mass of clay again seems to me of all incredible things the most incredible."

WILLIAM JAMES.—The following quotations are taken from the letters of William James:—

1. "My personal position is simple. I have no living sense of commerce with a God. I envy those who have, for I know the addition of such a sense would help me

immensely. The Divine for my active life is limited to abstract concepts, which as ideals interest and determine me, but do so faintly in comparison with what a feeling of God might effect if I had one. It is largely a question of intensity, but difference of intensity may make one's whole centre of energy shift. Now, although I am so devoid of *Gottesbewustsein* in the directer and stronger sense, yet there is something in me which makes response when I hear utterance from that lead by others. I recognize the deeper voice. Something tells me '*thither lies truth.*' "

2. "The mother-sea and fountain-head of all religions lie in the mystical experiences of the individual, taking the word 'mystical' in a very wide sense. All theologies and all ecclesiasticisms are secondary growths superimposed; and the experiences make such flexible combinations with the prepossessions of their subjects that one may almost say that they have no proper *intellectual* deliverance of their own, but belong to a region deeper and more vital and practical than that which the intellect inhabits. For this reason they are indestructible by intellectual arguments and criticisms."

Henry Sidgwick.—The following letter was written by Henry Sidgwick to a friend, General Carey, who wrote to him concerning his religious views.

After saying that he could not imagine himself believing in Christianity after the orthodox fashion, he proceeds:—

"But as regards Theism the case is different, though here my answer will doubtless surprise you. For if I am asked whether I believe in a God, I should really

have to say that I do not know—that is, I do not know whether I believe or merely *hope* that there is a moral order in this Universe that we know, a supreme principle of Wisdom and Benevolence, guiding all things to good ends, and to the happiness of the good. I certainly hope that this is so, but I do not think it capable of being proved. All I can say is that no opposed explanation of the origin of the Cosmos—for instance, the atomistic explanation—seems to me even plausible, and that I cannot accept life on any other terms, or construct a rational system of my own conduct except on the basis of this faith.

"You will say, perhaps, 'The question is not whether we should *like*, or find it *convenient*, to believe in a God, but whether such belief is *true*.' To this I answer, 'What criterion have you of the truth of any of the fundamental beliefs of science, except that they are consistent, harmonious with other beliefs that we find ourselves naturally impelled to hold?' And this is precisely the relation that I find to exist between Theism and the whole system of my moral beliefs. Duty to me is as real a thing as the physical world, though it is not apprehended in the same way; but all my apparent knowledge of duty falls into chaos if my belief in the moral government of the world is conceived to be withdrawn.

"I cannot resign myself to disbelief in duty."

In a letter to Roden Noel, he writes:—

"As for the great question of immortality, there was one line of thought I wanted to suggest, in which, from time to time, I find a kind of repose. It is that, on moral grounds, *hope* rather than *certainty* is fit for us in this earthly existence. For if we had certainty, there

would be no room for the sublimest effort of our mental life—self-sacrifice and the moral choice of Good as Good, though not perhaps good for us here and now."

And in a letter to Lord Tennyson he writes:—

"The truth is that assurance and doubt must alternate in the moral world in which we at present live, somewhat as night and day alternate in the physical world. The revealing visions come and go; when they come we feel that we know; but in the intervals we must pass through states in which all is dark, and in which we can only struggle to hold the conviction that

> Power is with us in the night
> Which makes the darkness and the light,
> And dwells not in the light alone."

Cecil Rhodes.—The following quotation, taken from the *Life of Cecil Rhodes*, by Basil Williams, gives the religious attitude of a man of a very different type from any of the preceding:—

"After weighing all the pros and cons in his own mind, he concluded on a fifty per cent. chance that there was a God, and on that fifty per cent. chance resolved to base his beliefs and his actions. . . . Running through various possible ends, wealth, worldly success, and so on, he found that none of these were satisfactory, whereas on the broadest view of life and history, he argued, God was obviously trying to produce a type of humanity most fitted to bring peace, liberty, and justice to the world and to make that type predominant. . . . The best way to help on God's work and fulfil His purpose in the world was to contribute to the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon race. . . . His church was not a building, but the veld, or, at Cape

Town, the Mountain. 'I do not care to go to a particular church even on one day in the year, when I use my own chapel at all other times. I find that up the Mountain one gets thoughts, what you might term religious thoughts, because they are thoughts for the betterment of humanity, and I believe that is the best description of religion, to work for the betterment of the human beings who surround us.' "

GILBERT MURRAY.—The following quotations are taken from Professor Gilbert Murray's *Religio Grammatici*:—

1. "But we do seem to find, not only in all religions, but in practically all philosophies, some belief that man is not quite alone in the Universe, but is met in his endeavours towards the good by some external help or sympathy. We find it everywhere in the unsophisticated man. We find it in the unguarded self-revelations of the most severe and conscientious atheists. Now, the Stoics, like many other schools of thought, drew an argument from this consensus of all mankind. It was not an absolute proof of the existence of the Gods or Providence, but it was a strong indication. The existence of a common instinctive belief in the mind of man gives at least a presumption that there must be a good cause for that belief.

"This is a reasonable position. There must be some such cause. But it does not follow that the only valid cause is the truth of the content of the belief. I cannot help suspecting that this is precisely one of those points on which Stoicism, in company with almost all philosophy up to the present time, has gone astray, through not sufficiently realising its dependence on the

human mind as a natural biological product. For it is very important in this matter to realise that the so-called belief is not really an intellectual judgment so much as a craving of the whole nature."

2. "It is only of very late years that psychologists have begun to realise the enormous dominion of those forces in man of which he is normally unconscious. We cannot escape as easily as these brave men dreamed from the grip of the blind powers beneath the threshold. Indeed, as I see philosophy after philosophy falling into this unproven belief in the Friend behind phenomena, as I find that I myself cannot, except for a moment and by an effort, refrain from making the same assumption, it seems to me that perhaps here too we are under the spell of a very old ineradicable instinct. We are gregarious animals; our ancestors have been such for countless ages. We cannot help looking out on the world as gregarious animals do; we see it in terms of humanity and fellowship. Students of animals under domestication have shown us how the habits of a gregarious creature, taken away from his kind, are shaped in a thousand details by reference to the lost pack which is no longer there—the pack which a dog tries to smell his way back to all the time he is out walking, the pack he calls to for help when danger threatens. It is a strange and touching thing, this eternal hunger of the gregarious animal for the herd of friends who are not there. And it may be, it may very possibly be that, in the matter of this Friend behind phenomena, our own yearning and our own almost ineradicable instinctive convictions, since they are certainly not founded on either reason or observation, are in origin the groping of a lonely-souled

gregarious animal to find its herd or its herd leader in the great spaces between the stars."

Does not Professor Murray overlook an essential fact that disproves his theory? Religious emotion, it is true, is often excited in a crowd by a sympathetic wave of feeling. But the great religious teachers and reformers, who initiate religious movements, as a rule, frequently retire from even the most congenial religious society into solitude for longer or shorter periods to renew their spiritual strength. The leaders of the Salvation Army well understand the powerful influence of gregarious feeling, but the following passage taken from a letter of Mrs. Booth to her husband is evidence of the primary value of solitude in religion:—

"Watch against mere animal excitement in your revival service. I don't believe the Gospel needs such roaring and foaming to make it effective. . . . Tell me, my love, in your next all about your soul's secret experience. Tell whether you attend faithfully to private prayer, and how you feel when alone with God. This is the surest test by which to judge your state, and you never needed it more frequently than now."

A. G. Tansley.—The following passage is taken from *The New Psychology* of A. G. Tansley:—

"In obeying the moral code the individual is obeying a practical rule of life which has been evolved in relation to the needs of the social organism to which he belongs.

"But we must, nevertheless, reject altogether the ultimate authority of the moral code to govern the individual life. The ultimate authority must be sought within the individual's own mind. In inquiring as to

the nature of this authority, we find that we must have a standard to replace the herd standard, an ideal to which we strive to conform, and this can only be represented by what has been called 'the higher moral self.' . . . This ethical self not only gives the standard by which conduct is judged, it provides the necessary instinctive force required to enforce right conduct, to turn the other instincts to its purposes, to inhibit, where necessary, the conations which conflict with its standards. This instinctive force is not derived from a single primitive instinct, but is a sublimation of the primitive energy of those instincts which contribute to the formation of the ego-complex. It is a secondary creation, fashioned and consolidated in the fire of life by the interplay of the instinctive forces of the mind with the facts."

This reasoning attempts to translate into the terms of the new psychology the saying of Socrates, *I must obey God rather than the Athenians*. But does it make the matter any clearer? The terms *sublimation* and *secondary creation* both require explanation.

Sublimation, like the religious term *conversion*, is a metaphor implying change of direction. Whence comes this new directivity?

Also our sense of sight may be described as a secondary creation when compared with our sense of smell, but this does not help to explain the genesis of the sense of sight, which is on a different plane physically from the sense of smell.

Bertrand Russell.—The following passage is taken from Mr. Bertrand Russell, who has been quoted already as the leading representative of materialistic

philosophy. Mr. Russell here attempts to build on the "rock of unyielding despair" an imaginary, or rather an illusory, spiritual habitation. Surely this is vain; but the attempt shows how integral a part of human nature religious feeling is.

"In order to promote life, it is necessary to value something other than mere life. . . . If life is to be fully human, it must serve some end which seems, in some sense, outside human life, some end which is impersonal and above mankind, such as God or truth or beauty. Those who best promote life do not have life for their purpose. They aim rather at what seems like a gradual incarnation, a bringing into our human existence of something eternal, something that appears to imagination to live in a heaven remote from strife and failure and the devouring jaws of time. Contact with this eternal world—even if it be only a world of our imagining—brings a strength and a fundamental peace which cannot be wholly destroyed by the struggles and apparent failures of our temporal life."

Arthur Balfour.—In his Gifford Lectures Lord Balfour affirms that he believes in God, freedom, and immortality. His belief is sustained by the consciousness of the supreme values of the great human ideals of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty. These cannot have been evolved by natural selection, for they do not count in the struggle for existence. Are they then only accidents of an accident? He cannot accept this view, but thinks that the course of evolution has been affected by divine guidance and inspiration. He writes:—

"To me, indeed, it seems that inspiration in its

widest sense, i.e. the direct action of spirit on spirit, is less difficult to understand than the action of spirit on matter or of matter on spirit. This, I admit, is not the common view. Most people would, I suspect, regard the communication of mind with mind by the help of matter (e.g. by writing or speaking) as the simplest affair in the world; while inspiration, i.e. direct communication without the intermediate aid of any kind of matter, they would treat as mystical illusion. As regards the broad facts of human intercourse, they may be right. No method of analysing the flow of spiritual intercourse has yet been devised; and it must be admitted that the efficiency of ordinary external signalling is very marvellous. The power of the written and the spoken word seems almost immeasurable, and they have notable auxiliaries. Smiles and frowns, shades of expression which are far beyond verbal description, gestures that are scarcely perceived, changes of intonation too subtle for any musical notation to express, might seem to provide all the mechanism of intellectual and emotional intercommunication which men—or dogs—can require. Yet are we quite sure? Who is there, reflecting on the mental epidemics which may afflict a whole generation, on the eager subservience commonly shown to the fashion of the hour, on the swaying humours of a crowd, on the overwhelming waves of national emotion, on the influence silently, even unconsciously, exercised by certain individuals, who is there (I say), reflecting on these familiar things, who is not haunted by the suspicion that something more is happening between human souls than even the most admirable system of external signalling will wholly account for?

"I am not sure; and speaking strictly, no decision on the point is really material to my argument. But one thing is clear. If Theism is true, and if 'inspiration' as I have described it really occurs, we can hardly suppose that only human spirits directly influence each other. May we not, and, if there be force in my arguments, must we not, also hold that inspiration, flowing from some diviner source, assists the long ascent of knowledge, love, and æsthetic joy, from their primitive beginning, through the dimness of our present twilight, to a future of unknown splendour? Whatever else may be said of such a creed, it is at least more reasonable than simple naturalism."

Beatrice Webb.—The following passage is taken from the autobiography of Beatrice Webb:—

"Thus the long-drawn-out controversy between the Ego that affirms and the Ego that denies the validity of religious mysticism ended, not in a reversion to the creed of Christianity, not even in an affirmation by the intellect of the existence of a spiritual power with whom man could enter into communion, but in an intuitive use of prayer as, for one of my temperament, essential to the right conduct of life. A secularist friend once cross-examined me as to what exactly I meant by prayer; he challenged me to define the process of prayer, to describe its happening. I answered that I would gladly do so if I could find the words. The trouble is, as Tagore observed about poetry, that words have meanings, or as I should prefer to say, *predominantly intellectual meanings*; and that in prayer, even more than in poetry, it is emotion and not reason that seeks transmission. Religion is love; in no case is it

logic. That is why, down all the ages of human development, prayer has been intimately associated, whether as a cause or as an effect, with the nobler and more enduring forms of architecture and music; associated, too, with poetry and painting, with the awe-inspiring aspects of Nature, with the great emotional mysteries of maternity, mating, and death. In another place I may try (and probably fail) to express, by the clumsy mechanism of the written word, the faith I hold; that it is by prayer, by communion with an all-pervading spiritual force, that the soul of man discovers the purpose or goal of human endeavour, as distinguished from the means or process by which human beings may attain their ends. For science is bankrupt in deciding the destiny of man; she lends herself indifferently to the destroyer and to the preserver of life, to the hater and to the lover of mankind. Yet any avoidance of the scientific method of disentangling 'the order of things,' any reliance on magic or on mystical intuition in selecting the process by which to reach the chosen end, spells superstition, and usually results in disaster."

Lord Rayleigh.—The following letter was written by Lord Rayleigh, late President of the Royal Society, on the occasion of a family bereavement:—

"I have never thought the materialist view possible, and I look to a power beyond what we see, and to a life in which we may at least hope to take part. What is more, I think that Christ, and indeed other spiritual gifted men, see further and truer than I do, and I wish to follow them as far as I can.

"But the great thing is to pray, even if it be in a vague

and inarticulate fashion. Surely we can ask a blessing on those we love and (in the words of the Collect) that the Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts. The vaguest attitude of aspiration and resignation seems better than no attitude at all."

Clifford Allbutt.—The following passage is from a sermon preached by Sir Clifford Allbutt, Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Cambridge:—

"Religion is not a matter of rites and ceremonies. I concede that there are many people to whose feelings of devotion these are helpful or indispensable. Yet many others, like myself, find within the plain walls of a whitewashed room a more direct access to God. In the street or the railway station or in the market-place you may breathe a momentary prayer, and you will feel happier for a whole hour afterwards. There is nothing incongruous in a silent aspiration raised to God whilst you are selling ribbons in a shop or advising clients in an office or prescribing at a patient's bedside."

Henry Jackson.—The following sentences are taken from a letter of Henry Jackson, late Professor of Greek at Cambridge:—

"There is very much in popular theology which I cannot for a moment accept, and I recognise that if, as I believe, there is a God, He has not intended us to know much about Him. But the fact is, I cannot conceive a Universe without a God; and it seems to me that men may fairly use such imagery as enables them to think of Him. So it does not trouble me much that

David's way of imagining God is not my way. I am quite sure that, if there is a God, He is good. Indeed, by God I mean good. I regard Christianity as an attempt to express the unknown principle of good; and as such I thankfully accept it."

This series of quotations is now concluded. While they do not constitute a proof, in any scientific sense of that word, of the existence of God, they show that religious feeling exists not only in simple-minded and unsophisticated people, but also in men of great mental power, of scientific achievement, and of wide experience of the world. It would be vain to attempt to construct a system of theology on the basis of the religious views expressed in this chapter. The following brief observations, however, are made upon the light which the teaching of Jesus throws upon the nature of religion and its function in the natural history of mankind.

Religion, it seems certain, is not a by-product of man's intellectual nature, though it has its intellectual side. It is concerned with things that extend beyond the field of human understanding. Bergson, following this line of thought, ranges religion with instinctive feelings rather than with the intellectual processes. But if one goes to the ants and bees which furnish the highest example of instinctive behaviour and observes the mechanical movement of instinct, surely it cannot be maintained that religious conduct is instinctive in the zoological sense of that term. Religion is peculiar to the human race even more than intellect; there are signs of intellect and reasoning in several species of the higher animals, but there have not yet been dis-

covered movements of conscious religion in any animal except man.

To that side of human consciousness which concerns itself with religious things Jesus gave the name of Faith. The very name implies that religion passes beyond the bounds of the demonstrable. Trust in the power behind this temporal and spatial world transcends the limits of scientific investigation. God is a "Hidden God," felt, but in nowise comprehended.

In one of His homely metaphors Jesus indicates the function of religion. It is "the salt" of human life. One must understand the need for salt as felt by a cereal-fed people to understand the full significance of this metaphor. Though the quantity of salt needed is relatively exceedingly small, yet that very small quantity is indispensable to man's health and physical happiness. And so, though religious faith may seem to bulk but insignificantly in a busy man's conscious life, yet it is of vital importance. Without some faith, conscious or subconscious, man's life becomes meaningless and human labour is felt to be in vain.

In some races religious faith is more strongly manifested than in others, as, for example, in Israel. For this reason Jesus called that people "the salt of the earth."

In some men and women religious faith tends to absorb mind and energy, so that it overpowers all personal interests, even the instinctive fear of death. Such people become the prophets or martyrs or saints of their generation.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE AND THE PURSUIT OF WEALTH

The following well-known passage from the *Apologia* of Cardinal Newman will serve as an introduction to this chapter:—

"Starting then with the being of a God (which, as I have said, is as certain to me as the certainty of my own existence, though when I try to put the grounds of that certainty into logical shape I find a difficulty in doing so in mood and figure to my own satisfaction), I look out of myself into the world of men, and there I see a sight which fills me with unspeakable distress. The world seems simply to give the lie to that great truth, of which my whole being is so full; and the effect upon me is, in consequence, as a matter of necessity, as confusing as if it denied that I am in existence myself. . . .

"To consider the world in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of

man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, 'having no hope and without God in the World' —all this is a vision to dizzy and appal; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery which is absolutely beyond human solution."

Cardinal Newman, who lived somewhat aloof from his fellow-men, exaggerates in this account the evil and the misery of the world, though not its mystery. The doctrine of evolution gives an account of it truer to the facts and much less gloomy.

The material conditions for the survival of an animal species, according to the Darwinian theory of evolution, working through natural selection, are sufficiency of food and of opportunity for breeding and bringing up the young. The supply of food at times proves to be insufficient for the number of mouths to be fed and the pursuit of it becomes competitive. Hence the struggle for existence, as it is termed, and the survival of those individuals and species that are on the whole best fitted for the struggle.

The human race is subject to the same necessary conditions, but in addition to food man has to make provision for clothing and shelter, and, in some climates, for artificial warmth and light. The mass of mankind have to work industriously, sometimes laboriously, to obtain these necessary requirements, and, as in the case of the lower animals, man's pursuit

of these things tends to become competitive, sometimes fiercely competitive. Such a state of affairs tends to induce feelings of envy and hatred and hostility, which lead in the case of rival individuals to attacks on persons and property, and in the case of rival social groups to war. To meet these evils there has been gradually evolved the institution of the State with its laws and magistrates and police for maintaining order and doing justice between its citizens; and its army and diplomatic service for protection against foreign Powers. But though the State represses more or less successfully the cruder and more violent forms of injustice, there is much evil it cannot reach effectively. A man may be a bad neighbour and a bad citizen without breaking any of the laws of the State. Indeed, the institution of a legal system of doing justice, while repressing some evils, tends to create others. Cunning and unscrupulous men learn how to turn the law to their own advantage, and to the disadvantage of simpler and honester people. Especially is this true in the economic field.

In civilised States, therefore, while the struggle for existence in its primitive violent form has largely ceased, the competitive pursuit of the material good things of life, or rather of the riches which give the power of possessing them, becomes exceedingly keen, and has a tendency to become unconscionable, with the consequence that wealth often appears to be very inequitably distributed and there is grave social unrest.

During the epoch in which Christianity was born the Roman Empire had given peace from foreign war to a great and fertile portion of the world, and the

Roman system of administering justice had secured to its subject peoples greater domestic security from violence and oppression than the mass of them had ever enjoyed before.

Accordingly a period of material prosperity ensued and wealth increased. The pursuit of riches—*auri sacra fames*—waxed keener than in any previous generation. An age characterised by the commercial spirit came into existence with its resultant form of society. A large middle-class made its appearance which enjoyed a high standard of material comfort; a few people became exceedingly wealthy; many, on the other hand, lived in great poverty.

The Jews naturally were amongst the people affected by the new economic movement in the Roman Empire. Many of them entered eagerly upon the race for wealth. Then, as now, they were distinguished as a race by the possession of more than average financial ability. Indeed, the part they filled in the world of that day was not unlike the part they fill to-day.

The purpose of the present chapter is to consider the teaching of Jesus on the ethics of making a livelihood, the business which engages necessarily so much of the ordinary man's time and attention. The ground, however, must be first cleared. We must ascertain if all the teaching attributed to Jesus on this subject is authentic, or if any portions of it have been changed in character. An examination of His teaching as recorded respectively in St. Matthew and St. Luke exhibits remarkable discrepancies between the two Gospels.

As reported in St. Luke, the judgment expressed by Jesus upon wealth and poverty in this world is simple

and unqualified. Wealth is evil; poverty and suffering of the most wretched sort are good.

"Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God."

"Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation."

"Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled."

"Woe unto you, ye that are full now, for ye shall hunger."

The report of these sayings, as recorded in St. Matthew, is fundamentally different.

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of God."

"Blessed are those that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."

No woes are pronounced in St. Matthew on the rich and the full.

The two reports are irreconcilable.

Throughout St. Luke's Gospel, Jesus, in His teaching regarding property, is made to go to extravagant lengths, far beyond the position He is represented as taking up in St. Matthew's Gospel.

Both Gospels record the saying: "Give to him that asketh," but St. Luke adds: "Of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again."

St. Matthew says: "From him that would borrow of thee, turn thou not away."

St. Luke positively enjoins: "Lend, hoping for nothing again."

These last two injunctions, as recorded in St. Luke, transgress the bounds not only of good sense but of good morals. They conduce to dishonesty.

Again, while in St. Matthew's Gospel Jesus is represented as counselling men to store up treasure in heaven rather than upon earth, in St. Luke's Gospel He is made to go much farther in the following admonition: "Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not."

The story of the rich man and Lazarus is found only in St. Luke's Gospel.

A certain rich man fared sumptuously every day, and was clothed in purple and fine linen. A beggar, full of sores, Lazarus by name, was laid daily at his gates. He ate the bread that was thrown away from the rich man's table, and the dogs licked his sores. Finally the beggar dies and is borne by angels to Abraham's bosom. The rich man also dies, and, lifting up his eyes in hell, sees Abraham afar off and Lazarus on his bosom. He cries to Abraham to have mercy upon him and to send Lazarus "that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame." But Abraham said: "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; but now here he is comforted, and thou art tormented." Abraham adds also that there is a great gulf fixed between them which cannot be crossed. The tortured man then—evidently he was not lost to all good feeling—asks Abraham to send Lazarus to warn his five brethren. But Abraham demurs to this also, saying, "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." And when still further pressed on the ground that they would repent if one went to them from the dead, Abraham closes the discussion with the reply: "If they

hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

The story ends here, and the reader is left to draw the moral lesson for himself.

The feelings excited by the striking contrast between the lives of the idle rich and the suffering poor find expression in this narrative, but surely the childish character of the story is not on the level, intellectual and moral, of the teaching of Jesus.

Is the redress of gross inequality in this world by a complete reversal of the conditions in the next a just and satisfactory solution of what is in reality a very complex social problem?

At the present day, in Christian civilisation Lazarus is taken to the hospital and medical science does its best for his comforts. Will all this care and attention lessen his reward in the next world?

What of the numerous cases where both poverty and sores are due to vicious living?

The idle rich are still with us, and are indeed very much in evidence. Their ostentatious extravagance in the pursuit of pleasure excites envy and discontent. Nevertheless, few now would consider it a just retribution that they should be tormented in the flames of hell for ever.

Nor is the observation regarding "Moses and the Prophets" consistent with the attitude of Jesus towards the Jewish Scriptures as recorded elsewhere.

It is exceedingly doubtful if this is a genuine parable of Jesus; it may even be doubted if it is an authentic part of St. Luke's Gospel. It may well be an interpolation, inserted, as it is, in the abruptest manner, between the teaching on divorce and the inevitability

of offences, without any introduction or any conclusion.

The parable of the Unjust Steward, as it is generally entitled, is also found only in St. Luke. This parable, far from being simple, is both obscure and confused. There are two important variant readings in the Greek text which render any certainty in its interpretation impossible.

"The steward of a certain rich man was accused to him of wasting his goods, and the rich man ordered him to render the accounts of his stewardship, as he had determined to dispense with his services. The steward was thrown into a state of great anxiety about his future livelihood. He had not the strength to dig and he was ashamed to beg. After thinking the matter over he resolved upon the following scheme. He summoned each of his master's debtors and asked the first how much he owed. On his replying that he was in debt for one hundred measures of oil, he told him to alter the amount to fifty measures; and in the same way he dealt with the other debtors, in each case fraudulently reducing the amount of the indebtedness. He did this in order to make friends of these people, so that when he was put out of his stewardship they might receive him into their houses."

So far the story is clear and easily understood. The steward's scheme was dishonest, but shrewd. There is a certain amount of honour amongst thieves.

What is the moral lesson to be drawn? The story proceeds:—

"And his lord commended the unrighteous steward because he had done wisely: for the sons of this world are for their own generation wiser than the sons of

light. And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when it shall fail, (*or* 'when you fail') they may receive you into the eternal habitations. He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much: and he that is unrighteous in a very little is unrighteous also in much. If therefore ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches (mammon)? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own?" (*or* "that which is our own").

All this is obviously confused and obscure, and the variant readings make any certainty of interpretation impossible, but the moral evidently lies in the following words: "Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness, that they may receive you into the eternal habitations."

Who are these powerful persons who can give admittance into the eternal habitations? It seems as though the words were a vaguely-worded suggestion, intentionally somewhat obscure, that people with property would be well advised to hand it over to the official leaders of the Church, and by so doing secure the salvation of their souls.

The story of rich Zacchæus is also only to be found in St. Luke's Gospel. Though he gives merely the half of his wealth to the poor, he obtains salvation both for himself and for his house.

Zacchæus was the chief among the tax-collectors, and he was rich. "And he sought to see Jesus, and could not for the press, because he was little of stature. And he ran before, and climbed up into a sycomore tree

to see him: for he was to pass that way. And when Jesus came to the place, he looked up, and saw him, and said to him: Zacchæus, make haste, and come down; for to-day I must abide at thy house. And he made haste, and came down, and received him joyfully. But there was murmuring because he was gone to be a guest with a man that was a sinner. And Zacchæus stood, and said to the Lord: Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold. And Jesus said: This day is salvation come to this house, forsomuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost."

This narrative reads suspiciously. The contribution of only one-half of the convert's riches savours of compromise. The final sentences are not like an authentic utterance of Jesus, but are a patchwork of Gospel phrases.

For all these reasons it is concluded that the doctrine of the inherent evil of private property as expounded in St. Luke's Gospel is a distorted exaggeration of the teaching of Jesus. It probably originated during the period, sometime after His death, when the Church in Jerusalem initiated a system of communism, supposed to be voluntary, but involving a good deal of indirect pressure. It is noteworthy that the author of St. Luke's Gospel was also the author of the Acts of the Apostles. He describes the communistic development in the following words: "And they sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all, according as every man had need." For a time this Christian form of communism worked well. "They did take their food

with gladness and singleness of heart." Later on it broke down, and we learn that contributions had constantly to be sent from other Churches to support the Church in Jerusalem. No other Church seems to have adopted communism.

The better attested teaching of Jesus on the subject of wealth will now be considered. It will be advisable to begin with the "hard" saying concerning "the camel and the needle's eye," as it seems to go as far, if not farther, than any of the preceding passages. It is found in all three Synoptic Gospels. The version in St. Mark's Gospel is given here, as probably it is the earliest and nearest the original.

"And as he was going forth on his way, there ran one to him and kneeled to him and asked him: Good Teacher, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life? And Jesus said to him, Why callest thou me good? None is good save one, even God. Thou knowest the commandments, Do not kill, Do not commit adultery, Do not steal, Do not bear false witness, Do not defraud, Honour thy father and mother. And he said unto him, Teacher, all these things have I observed from my youth. And Jesus looking upon him loved him, and said unto him, One thing thou lackest: go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me. But his countenance fell at the saying, and he went away sorrowful: for he was one that had great possessions.

"And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God! And the disciples were amazed at his words. But Jesus answereth again, and

saith to them: Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the Kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. And they were astonished exceedingly, saying unto him: Then who can be saved? Jesus looking upon them saith, With men it is impossible, but not with God: for all things are possible with God."

The essential point to be noted in this narrative is that Jesus invited this rich man to follow Him, i.e. to become one of the elect circle who were His usual companions, and whom He sent forth as His official missioners, but only on the condition that he first renounced his riches. Jesus required of these official followers that they should give up their occupations and devote themselves to the service of the Kingdom of Heaven. He warned them that they should be prepared to lose their lives, and even to suffer the cruel and shameful penalty of crucifixion. He bade them count the cost before making their decision. These were the "*elect*," regarding whom Jesus uttered the saying: *Many are called, but few are chosen.* The great mass of the people who accepted His teaching did not follow Him in this literal sense of the word. They continued to follow their ordinary vocations. And it is clear from the allusions in the New Testament that among these adherents there were certainly some wealthy people. Jesus now offered this rich man a place among these "elect few," but His offer was not accepted, as it involved the sacrifice of great possessions.

The attitude of Jesus in this particular case struck His disciples with surprise. They had certainly abandoned their occupations when Jesus asked them to

follow Him; they had not given up riches, as they had none to give up. Wealth was highly regarded among the Jews and looked upon as a blessing, and probably it seemed to them a desirable thing to have a man with great possessions among the disciples. Jesus thought differently, and their continued astonishment at His action caused Him, if He is correctly reported, to utter one of the most hyperbolical of His sayings. Certainly a camel cannot go through the eye of a needle. But a little later He is represented as modifying this extreme position and saying that, while it is impossible for man, everything is possible with God.

The essential point is that, in the judgment of Jesus, riches as a rule were incompatible with devotion to the ministry of the Kingdom of Heaven. The experience of the Christian movement proves that He was right in this attitude.

In ordinary occupations it is generally felt natural and right that superior energy and ability should be rewarded by greater wealth. In some highly regarded vocations of a scientific or artistic or literary nature wealth may reward great achievements, or again it may not. Lord Kelvin was a great scientist and did work of great value and attained wealth. Pasteur was a great scientist and did work of great value and remained poor. Similar contrasts could easily be found in literature and art. In secular professions, such as law, medicine, and engineering, many men follow their chosen calling without having as their chief motive the attainment of riches; if, however, some members of these professions achieve wealth through the honourable practice of their profession, no reproach on that score can be levelled against them. In connection with

one vocation alone, that of the ministry of the Kingdom of Heaven, there prevails a feeling that the idea of money-making should be resolutely put aside. The following instance will illustrate this feeling: In the early days of the Salvation Army, after it had surmounted its first difficulties and had won a certain position for itself, Professor Huxley wrote a letter to *The Times* casting serious reflections on General Booth's administration of the large funds subscribed to the movement by the public. In this matter Professor Huxley acted courageously and honestly, believing as he did that the Booth family were making a handsome profit out of their philanthropic schemes. General Booth's answer was to call in a reputable firm of accountants to report on his administration of the Army funds, and also on his private expenditure. The report showed conclusively that General Booth expended all money publicly subscribed upon the objects for which it had been subscribed, and that not a single penny had been diverted to the maintenance of himself and his family. All his expenditure upon this object was provided from a legacy of £300 a year left to him by a friend to enable him to devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel. In any other line of life a man who dealt with such large sums and controlled successfully such a large organisation would, in the general estimation of the public, have been justified in drawing for his own remuneration a salary of some £2,000 or £3,000 per annum. But if General Booth had been shown to have done so, it would have been fatal to the success of the Salvation Army movement.

The culmination of this doctrine of the incompati-

bility between the pursuit, or even the possession of riches and devotion to the service of the Kingdom of Heaven finds its expression in the first beatitude as reported in the Gospel of St. Matthew: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." The preposition "*in*" here does not express the true meaning of the saying. The poverty spoken of is real poverty; a better translation would be: "Blessed are the poor through their spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." The attitude of St. Francis of Assisi to wealth, though exaggerating that of Jesus, illustrates the meaning of this beatitude.

The well-known saying, "Take no thought for the morrow," is considered by Mr. Bertrand Russell to be a hard precept to obey in a competitive world. But this translation and application seriously misinterpret the meaning of this saying. The Greek word translated *to take thought* properly means "*to be anxious*," "*to worry*." The passage runs thus in the Revised Version:—

"Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. And why are ye anxious concerning raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But if God doth so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Seek ye first his Kingdom and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you. Be not therefore anxious

for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

These words were, it is clear, addressed to the "elect few," the "little flock," who gave up their means of livelihood and entered the service of the Kingdom of Heaven, and who, like the followers of St. Francis, looked forward to living on the charity and contributions of well-wishers to the movement.

The subsequent history of the early Church shows that the faith of Jesus that the missioners would be supported was fully justified. They were, of course, relatively only a small number of missioners compared with the great numbers of people who accepted the teaching of Jesus and continued to lead their ordinary provident, industrious life. Economically it was easy for this small number to be supported out of the surplus produce of the army of workers. It is certain that, if the mass of men were to take no thought for the morrow, and, imitating the example of the birds of heaven, were to cease sowing and reaping and gathering into barns, the great majority of the human race would perish from starvation, civilisation would collapse, and the comparatively few survivors would revert to the conditions of savagery that preceded the introduction of agriculture. But the words of Jesus do not recommend any insane proceeding like that. He simply tells His small circle of disciples in a light-hearted manner not to worry over the ways and means of supplying their bodily wants.

Though it is recorded in the Gospels that Jesus had amongst His adherents people of property, and was on friendly terms with some wealthy men, e.g. Joseph of Arimathea, and accepted occasionally the hospitality

of the rich, yet it is clear that He did not look with favour on the desire to accumulate riches. The pursuit of riches demands too exclusive an attention. *Where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also.* The insolence and arrogance and hardness that almost inevitably accompany great riches were peculiarly antipathetic to Him. *What does it profit a man*, He asks, *if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?* He was sensitive to the rudeness of rich men, and administered a fitting rebuke to a wealthy entertainer who had showed Him less than proper courtesy.

The phrase "unrighteous mammon," found in St. Luke, is not improbably His, and means that great wealth is never accumulated without some grave social injustice being done.

In the present age, when there is such keen competition for riches, and immense fortunes are amassed such as have never existed before, it will be worth while to consider carefully the following passage from Ruskin and compare it with the sayings of Jesus:—

"In a community regulated only by laws of supply and demand, but protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person."

It will be of interest also to consider the case of a great man of the present age who was in many ways a

good man, and the effect of wealth upon his character. The following extract is taken from *The Life of Cecil Rhodes*, by Basil Williams:—

"Rhodes was singular in this, that he attached enormous importance to the influence of wealth in securing public objects. If one has ideas, as he told General Gordon, one cannot carry them out without wealth to back them. 'I have therefore tried,' he added in narrating this incident, 'to combine the commercial with the imaginative.' . . . As a result of his success he became strangely arrogant; old friends noted with pain the change from his former simple and boyish good-fellowship to the almost pompous and overweening attitude of the late Rhodes. He was beginning to say in his heart that he was not as other men, but like a god. This arrogant spirit was encouraged and pampered by his surroundings. He had turned away or lost many of his old friends, and in their place had come a horde of flatterers. . . . He lowered the standard of public life at the Cape and even at home in England."

But the very rich are very few in number. What is the teaching of Jesus for the ordinary man concerning the right attitude towards the material good things of life—food, drink, clothing, property? In considering the teaching of Jesus on these matters, it must be borne in mind that He was speaking to Jews, a people more than ordinarily acquisitive, whose natural bent was towards excessive application to business. If He had been addressing a people like the Neapolitan *lazzaroni*, given to loafing and wasting, doubtless His teaching would have been worded differently.

As in His other teaching, so in this Jesus laid down only general rules. He refused to judge in particular cases. When He was asked to intervene in a family dispute over the inheritance of property, He declined, saying, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?"

As regards food and drink, Jesus did not minimise the need of these things. A rhetorical sophistry, such as is attributed to Him in St. John's Gospel, when, though hungry, He refused food, saying, "My food is to do the will of Him that sent me," is alien to the spirit of His teaching as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. There He tells the missioners that they are worthy of their food. He was not an ascetic. According to the accounts in the Gospels He was not above enjoying the pleasures of the table. His idea of happiness is expressed by the simile of a feast. He went to feasts Himself and advised the well-to-do when they made a feast to invite the poor.

In Jesus's day, more even than in the present day, the necessity of earning a livelihood so preoccupied the ordinary man's attention that he had but little time for anything else. The saying of Jesus, *Man does not live by bread alone*, borrowed from the Old Testament, is placed evidently in a wrong context, as it fails to give the proper force to the word *alone*. The saying means that, while the provision of the material necessities of life demands the largest share of the ordinary man's time and attention, yet such provision is not enough. Man has spiritual needs. He is not wholly material. The time given to spiritual needs may be brief, but it is necessary. The comparison between religion and salt seems to be based partly

on the necessity of salt, partly on the small amount required. Jesus therefore fully recognised the material needs of the body.

But He warns people against a spirit of greed. *A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.* The word translated *abundance* should be translated *excess* or *superabundance*; but the meaning is plain. A certain amount of wealth is necessary for man's bodily welfare, but it is a mistake, though a common one, to think that, as a man increases in riches, his happiness and welfare continue to increase. Many moral philosophers have taught the same lesson; Horace among others, when he praises the man *desiderantem quod satis est.*

Certain comparative values, often misprised in ordinary life, are affirmed in the following saying: *Is not the life more than the food, and the body than the raiment?* The first part means that a man should eat to live, not live to eat; the second that a beautiful and healthy body is better than beautiful and costly clothing.

A considerable amount of criticism has been expended upon the well-known saying: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume, and where thieves do not break through and steal: for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also." It has been said with some point that the text *Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth* would hardly be a suitable inscription to emblazon above the portals of the Bank of England. And, indeed, critics like Mr. H. G. Wells have concluded that the teaching of Jesus is too remote

from the economic conditions of the present age to be helpful to it, framed as that teaching was for a society much simpler than the complex industrial world of to-day. There is, no doubt, a certain amount of truth in this criticism. Jesus's teaching was certainly addressed to the Jews of His own generation, and the economic conditions of that day were very different from those obtaining now. But even after making this admission, the main principles at the basis of His teaching may still hold good. The saying, *Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth consume, and where thieves break through and steal*, refers to man's propensity to store up or hoard property of which he makes no adequate use. The possessor reaps no benefit beyond the purely selfish pleasure of ownership from these possessions. Superfluous jewellery and clothing and furniture are examples of such unfruitful treasures. Readers of the *Mill on the Floss* will remember how the womankind of the Dodson family kept their household treasures wrapped up in tissue paper and locked away in a wardrobe simply for the pleasure of inspecting them at intervals. It is against such selfish and unbeneficial ownership this saying of Jesus is directed. To-day wealthy people frequently possess houses and motor-cars of which they make no adequate use.

As has been already observed, the pursuit of material wealth tends to become sharply competitive. What is the teaching of Jesus on this aspect of the business side of life? He quotes with approval the old Jewish precept: *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*. This precept is sometimes interpreted as inculcating "selflessness," or as it is sometimes expressed, "a self-sacrificing

altruism." Such an interpretation is manifestly incorrect. If a man is to love his neighbour as himself, it is obvious that if he does not love himself, he will not love his neighbour. How could a "selfless" person love himself? Similarly, "a self-sacrificing altruism" means that a person is to care for his neighbour's interests infinitely more than he is to care for his own. Such a morality is absurd in theory and impossible in practice. Loving your neighbour as yourself means the habit of looking on any question that affects both not only from your own point of view, but also from his standpoint. In business transactions it means not trying to get the better of him, but, in the commercial phraseology of the day, giving him a square deal. The Jews had a saying that for a bargain to be a good bargain it should be for the good of all parties concerned. This attitude, it must be admitted, has not yet been accepted generally in the commercial world, and hence much of the present discontent in regard to both the production and the distribution of wealth.

Jesus enlarged the scope and extended the meaning of this precept by the formulation of the "golden rule": *Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.*

In connection with the precept concerning loving one's neighbour, it is recorded that Jesus was once asked the question: "And who is my neighbour?" to which he replied with this apologue: "A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and he fell among robbers, who stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance a certain priest was going down that way: and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. And in like

manner a Levite also, when he came to the place, and saw him, passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: and when he saw him, he was moved with compassion, and came to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring on them oil and wine; and he set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. And on the morrow he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said, Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more, I, when I come back again, will repay thee. Which of these three, thinkest thou, proved neighbour unto him that fell among robbers? And he said: He that shewed mercy on him. And Jesus said unto him, Go, and do thou likewise."

Your neighbour, therefore, is anyone you find in sore distress, without respect to class or creed or race.

CHAPTER V

THE FAMILY

THE Family is a peculiarly human institution, indissolubly connected with the growth of the moral and religious feelings of mankind. Most of the great religious teachers, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian, have found in the idea of Fatherhood the best symbol to express the relationship of God to mankind. The conception of Brotherhood has also been borrowed from the Family to express the ideal moral relations that should subsist between men.

The Family, in the modern meaning of that term, may be defined as "the small community formed by the union of one man with one woman and by the increase of children born to them." Until recently it has been taken for granted that the family in this sense is the most primitive of all human associations, and the original germ from which later and larger associations, such as the tribe and the nation, have been developed. But the trend of modern researches in anthropology has been to disprove this assumption. The conception of the family as defined above seems to be of comparatively late growth, and is to a certain extent the product of Christianity.

An inquiry into the teaching of Jesus on the duties of family life raises in the first place the great question of sex and the right relationship between man and woman.

In Jesus's day monogamy was the established prac-

tice among the Jews, but the husband according to ancient Mosaic law had the prerogative of divorcing his wife at pleasure. The facility of divorce thus secured to the husband virtually denied the existence of any permanent obligation in the marriage connection. Jesus uncompromisingly condemned this lax view of marriage.

At this point, however, it will be advisable to outline briefly the attitude of St. Paul to marriage.

St. Paul, whose views, as expressed in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, exercised a dominating influence on early and mediæval Christianity, took over some of Jesus's teaching, but added certain opinions of his own, thereby imparting his own peculiar views to the Christian conception of marriage. He held the prevailing Oriental opinion of the inferiority of woman and her natural subservience to man. He took a correspondingly low view of the married state. Marriage, according to his way of thinking, was a concession to the weakness of the flesh. It was instituted to prevent fornication. Celibacy was the higher state. Even for those who married it was better not to procreate children. There is, however, in his utterances a certain note of doubt. He thinks, he is not quite certain, that he has the spirit of God.

Do St. Paul's views harmonise with the teaching of Jesus? His teaching is recorded in St. Mark's Gospel in the following words:—

"From the beginning of creation, male and female made He them. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

Surely these words declare in no uncertain manner the sexual nature of mankind, and, if they mean anything, mean that there is something peculiarly sacred in marriage. The marriage relationship is made to take precedence of all existing family ties, and is pronounced to be in some special way the work of God.

The full implications of the teaching of Jesus on this matter can be best realised by contrasting with it the teaching of Confucius, which has for so many centuries guided and conserved the ancient but unprogressive civilisation of China. Confucius makes filial piety the primary and fundamental family obligation. Among the Chinese a man does not leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife. He cleaves to his father and mother and brings his wife into their family to occupy a comparatively subordinate position.

But what is the meaning of the phrase, "whom God hath joined"? That is the vital point of this saying of Jesus. It does not, as many people suppose, refer to the ecclesiastical celebration of the marriage by a priest or clergyman. A marriage according to ancient canon law is "completed by the facts of consent and consummation." "The parties to the marriage, not the priest, are the ministers of the sacrament." The Church ceremony was a later addition.

Does not "the joining by God" mean a marriage induced by mutual attraction and love, and not a marriage arranged by reason of considerations of wealth or social position or convenience? This is not merely a romantic and sentimental view of marriage, it is the view which modern science seems to support.

Some scientific philosophers consider the perpetuation and improvement of the human race to be the

highest ethical obligation of man. Eugenics is the name given to the new science of the production of fine offspring, and it is agreed that the chief factor in such production is the marriage of suitable parents. On what principles is suitability to be decided? Is it a question for physiological experts? Grant Allen believes that most evolutionists would agree that the beneficent impulse which is called "Falling in Love" effects this object more satisfactorily than any external selective agency could. He writes:—

"Falling in Love, as modern Biology teaches us to believe, is nothing more than the latest, highest, and most involved exemplification in the human race of that almost universal selective process which Mr. Darwin has enabled us to recognise throughout the whole long series of the Animal Kingdom. . . .

"In our own species the selective process is marked by all the features common to selection throughout the whole animal kingdom; but it is also, as might be expected, far more specialised, far more individualised, far more cognisant of personal traits and minor peculiarities. It is furthermore exerted to a far greater extent upon mental and moral, as well as physical peculiarities in the individual. . . .

"It must not be forgotten that falling in love has never yet, among civilised men at least, had a fair field. Many marriages are arranged on very different grounds —grounds of convenience, grounds of cupidity, grounds of religion, grounds of snobbishness. In many cases it is clearly demonstrable that such marriages are productive in the highest degree of evil consequences. . . .

"I do not doubt as the world goes on that a deeper

sense of moral responsibility in the matter of marriage will grow up among us. But it will not take the false direction of ignoring these our profoundest and holiest instincts. Marriage for money may go, marriage for rank may go, marriage for position may go, but marriage for love, I believe and trust, will last for ever."

A "marriage for love," or a marriage in accord with "our profoundest and holiest instincts," may well be termed a "joining by God."

But why should man be monogamous and why should his marriage be a lifelong union? The answers to these questions will be found in the following excerpts from well-known authorities on social science.

Man is remarkable among animals for the long period of immaturity through which he has to pass—childhood as it is called. President Butler of Columbia University finds in this the *vera causa* of monogamy. He writes as follows:—

"I think Mr. Fiske is undeniably correct in saying that the prolonged period of infancy which is necessary to bring about these adjustments lies at the foundation of the human family, and therefore at the foundation of society and of institutional life. The factor in history that has changed the human being from a gregarious animal to a man living in a monogamic family is, if anthropology and psychology teach us anything, unquestionably the child. During this long period of helplessness and dependence the parents of the child are kept together by a common centre of interest; and the bonds of affection and interdependence that are eventually to constitute the family are then permanently and closely knit. That period of mutual association and dependence of the parents extends at first over

only eight, ten, or twelve years. If two, three, or four children are born to the same parents, it may last during one-third or over one-half of the average life of man. Out of that centre of dependence and helplessness, the family, as we know it, has grown; and it has been constituted, so far as we can explain it at all, by the lengthening period of infancy in the animal kingdom and in the human race."

Finally, the family home has been found to be the only successful environment for the bringing up of children. Experience over many years has proved that children do not thrive and develop physically, morally, and mentally in public institutions as they do in private homes. Even a home that is not of the best is better than the best orphanage. As Jesus said, parents, though evil, know how to give good gifts to their children.

Dr. Reeder, who is one of the foremost authorities on Child Welfare, is quoted in the *Literary Digest* as saying:—

"The results arrived at from all the various field studies, surveys, and evaluation of remedial child welfare measures in America and Europe have pointed in one direction, namely, towards the family home as offering the only constructive solution of the orphan and dependent child-care problem. This is a safe and sound conclusion. . . . The family is the basic unit of society. There is no substitute for it. Moreover, notwithstanding the frequency of its break-up and its failure in the training of children, it is still the most successful institution of society. It is the only foundation upon which to build the other great social structures of State and Church and School. When therefore we

are building our child-welfare programmes upon the family home, conserving its integrity and responsibility, and making every use of its inherent fundamental resourcefulness, we know we are moving in the right direction. When we are relieving parents of their God-ordained responsibilities, removing children for slight causes, making divorce easy, or failing to utilise the greatest possible service of the family home in child-care, we know we are moving in the wrong direction."

Modern social science, therefore, is in agreement with the three basic principles for marriage which Jesus lays down, namely, that marriage should be for love, should be monogamous, and should be for life.

Holding this lofty conception of marriage, Jesus condemned strongly the Jewish custom that permitted the husband to divorce his wife practically at his caprice—"for any cause"—even though the custom had the sanction of the Mosaic Law.

His further observations addressed to His disciples have been the subject of much controversy. According to the accounts in St. Mark and St. Luke, divorce under any circumstances is apparently forbidden. According to the account in St. Matthew—reference is twice made to the question—divorce is sanctioned in the exceptional case of *πορνεία*. This is a term of rather indefinite signification; it is translated "fornication" in the Gospel, but it is often used to designate sexual misconduct of a worse type than ordinary adultery. Competent critics incline to consider that the exception made in St. Matthew's Gospel is an interpolation inserted by early Church authorities who found the absolute prohibition of divorce intolerable in certain cases. This view is almost certainly correct.

How could it come to pass that such an important clause, if part of the original teaching, could be omitted in the other two Gospels? Does this mean that Jesus expressly vetoed divorce under any circumstances? Such an interpretation misapprehends the character of His teaching. His sayings cannot be turned into a system of rules and regulations. As has been observed already, He laid down ethical principles; He did not deal with exceptional cases, though He admitted that offences must come. He spoke as a teacher, not as a lawyer. He found among the Jews a low conception of marriage; He set up a high ideal of it. The true ideal of marriage is a lifelong union, not a temporary liaison.

Certain of His disciples found the thought of a non-terminable marriage repugnant to them, and were of opinion that, if such was the condition of marriage, it was better to remain unmarried. To these it is recorded that Jesus uttered the following enigmatic reply:—

"All men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given. For there are eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are eunuchs, which were made eunuchs by men: and there are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

This saying is generally interpreted to mean that some men may be led to choose a celibate life for the better advancement of the Kingdom of Heaven. In that case the saying is an example of Jesus's exaggerated style of expression. It falls into the same category as the sayings concerning the plucking out of the right eye and the cutting off of the right hand. It does not, however, teach that celibacy is to be exalted above the

married state, any more than the other sayings teach that physical disability is to be exalted above physical soundness.

The following passage, taken from Cardinal Newman's *Apologia*, illustrates the meaning of this saying:—

"I am obliged to mention, though I do it with great reluctance, another deep imagination, which at this time, the autumn of 1816, took possession of me—there can be no mistake about the fact; viz. that it would be the will of God that I should lead a single life. This anticipation, which has held its ground almost continuously ever since—with the break of a month now and a month then, up to 1829, and, after that date, without any break at all—was more or less connected in my mind with the notion that my calling in life would require such a sacrifice as celibacy involved; as, for instance, missionary work among the heathen, to which I had a great drawing for some years. It also strengthened my feeling of separation from the visible world, of which I have spoken above."

It must be admitted, however, that this saying of Jesus regarding the three classes of eunuchs, if it is genuine—it is found only in St. Matthew's Gospel—has been unhappily expressed. It has been the cause of mistaken action and of much suffering.

Another of the sayings of Jesus limits the marriage relationship solely to the present life. In the future state of existence there is "neither marrying nor giving in marriage."

In connection with the teaching of Jesus on marriage, there cannot be passed over unnoticed the record of that remarkable scene when the woman taken in the

act of adultery is brought before Him for judgment, and its strange finale. By ancient Jewish law the punishment for adultery was death by stoning at the hands of the accusers.

When the woman was brought before Him and the accusers asked for His verdict, " Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. But when they continued asking him, he lifted up himself and said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her. And again he stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And they, when they heard it, went out one by one, beginning from the eldest, even unto the last: and Jesus was left alone, and the woman where she was, in the midst. And Jesus lifted up himself, and said unto her, Woman, where are they? did no man condemn thee? And she said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said, Neither do I condemn thee: go thy way; and from henceforth sin no more."

It must be observed that this episode is omitted in many manuscripts of the New Testament; on the other hand, it bears marks of authenticity, e.g., the curious unexplained action of Jesus in stooping down and writing with His finger on the ground could hardly have been invented. Why did He do so? Perhaps He did not wish to gaze upon the face of the woman in her shameful and desperate situation.

It is easier to feel the force of His observations on this case than to perceive their general applicability to the administration of justice.

The following reflections suggest themselves:—

First, the ancient Mosaic punishment was a survival of cruelty and barbarism.

Second, though Jesus was not a man of the world, yet He knew the world well, and knew that a very high percentage of men have been secretly guilty of sexual lapses. In the present day, President Stanley Hall, in his standard book on *Adolescence*, estimates that over 90 per cent. of men in Christian countries transgress the rule of chastity before marriage. While there may not be sufficient data for a statistical statement such as this, still, it is certain that the proportion is exceedingly large.

Thirdly, Jesus was a religious teacher, not a judge. He indicated the right principles of conduct, but He refused to act as judge in particular cases.

But why, in this case, did Jesus add the sentence, "Neither do I condemn thee"? Perhaps He saw from the woman's expression that she was not an evil woman, and had been more sinned against than sinning.

Though He held such lofty views respecting sexual morality, it is recorded that Jesus received women belonging to the prostitute class in a humane and friendly manner. He even said that some of this despised class were nearer the Kingdom of Heaven than some people accounted respectable. His attitude in this matter was made the ground of serious reproach against Him.

A disproportionate amount of attention has been given to certain unhappy aspects of married life, and a misleading impression of Jesus's attitude to marriage might be conveyed without the addition of the following observation:—

It is clear from the Gospel narratives that Jesus thought that a marriage was a right occasion for feasting and music and dancing. The miracle of the changing of water into wine at the marriage feast at

Cana is only a legend, but the legend is of value as showing that it was not recorded as in any way inconsistent with His prophetic mission to promote the joy of the company on such a happy occasion.

After the subject of marriage, there naturally arises the subject of children. What was the attitude of Jesus towards them? Jesus was genuinely fond of little children. This is clear from the episode recorded in all the Gospels where He gave directions that the little children should be brought to Him when the disciples would have driven them away. But out of this incident and other misinterpreted sayings some Christian teachers have constructed a sentimental philosophy concerning the exalted spiritual nature and wisdom of little children, which is largely, if not entirely, false. The qualities of childhood are described sometimes as childish, sometimes as childlike. The term childish connotes the immaturity of the child's nature, its unreasonableness and pettishness. The term childlike connotes the good qualities of childhood, its innocence and guilelessness. Reference is made in the discourse of Jesus to both these aspects of childhood. When the Pharisees of His day accused John the Baptist of being possessed by a devil because he was ascetic in his mode of life, and at the same time condemned Jesus as a glutton and a winebibber because He ate and drank like ordinary people, Jesus compared them in their unreasonable contrariness of mood to pettish children. Again, when His disciples began to intrigue for official advancement, He rebuked them and told them to imitate the innocence and guilelessness of the child.

On the other hand, when He says that things hidden from the wise are revealed to babes, He does not mean

by this use of the word "babes" little children, nor even young people. He means simple-minded, uneducated people, "babes" intellectually in comparison with the subtle-minded, highly sophisticated Jewish Rabbis of that day.

The recorded teaching of Jesus on the right relations between parents and children is scanty and incidental. He tells parents that, even though evil themselves, they know how to give good gifts to their children. One of the best known of His parables—that of the Prodigal Son—turns on the strength of paternal affection.

As regards filial duties, it is a noteworthy fact that Jesus gives no extended version of the commandment, Honour thy father and mother, as He does in the case of the other commandments. He puts the claims of wife before those of father and mother, but He condemns with indignation the casuistry of the lawyers who released a man from any obligation to assist his father provided he made a vow giving to God whatever he might have given his father.

As the following incident shows, He sternly disallowed the claim of His mother and brethren to interfere in any privileged way in His public work:—

"And there come his mother and his brethren; and, standing without, they sent unto him, calling him. And a multitude was sitting about him; and they say unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek for thee. And he answereth them, and saith, Who is my mother and brethren? Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother."

For Jesus manifestly the *patria potestas* did not extend beyond the period of minority. After that

sons owed respect and regard, but not obedience, to their parents.

As He Himself observed, families were sharply divided over the "Kingdom of Heaven" movement; and parents frequently opposed the desire of their sons to become members of the society of Jesus. Hence one of His characteristic hyperbolisms: *Unless a man hate his father and mother, he cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Another of His sayings, as it is recorded, sounds somewhat heartless in our ears. We are told that a certain man, whom He had invited to become an official follower, asked permission that he might first go and bury his father, and Jesus replied: *Let the dead bury their dead.* The saying reads like a saying of Jesus, but is not the setting of it the invention of some late expositor? The fact that it was the custom of the Jews to bury the body immediately, or as soon as possible, after death makes this supposition more probable.

As regards modern ideas of the necessity for birth control and the regulation of population, which bulk so largely in the discussions of social questions of the present day, it is difficult to say whether they are in conflict or in accord with the spirit of Jesus's teaching. In that age depopulation, not overpopulation, was the danger that menaced the countries included in the Roman Empire. The warning of Jesus, however, that, in the disastrous times that would befall Judæa, women with child, or giving suck, would suffer grievously, seems to indicate that in certain conditions prudence in begetting children is advisable. Certainly there is nothing in the teaching that can be brought forward to justify the reckless multiplication of human offspring.

CHAPTER VI

THE STATE

After the death of Herod, surnamed the Great, in 4 B.C., an embassy of fifty representative men was sent by the Judæans to Rome for the purpose of petitioning Cæsar Augustus to proclaim Judæa a Roman province. This petition for annexation was supported by eight thousand Jewish residents in Rome. It was evidently a movement that had the people's approval and support. Augustus gave the embassy a hearing, but did not accede to their request. He considered the arrangements in Herod's will should be carried out, according to which his son Archelaus was to be ruler of Judæa. After ten years of misrule and disorder, however, Archelaus was dethroned by Augustus, and Judæa became a part of the Roman Empire and was united with the province of Syria under the separate charge of a Roman Procurator. In this condition it remained, except for a short interval, until the revolt that ended in the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The people had the privilege of living under their own Mosaic laws; the duties of the Procurator were confined to maintaining order, to confirming death sentences, after seeing that the legal procedure had been followed, and to enforcing the payment of the Imperial taxes.

Though Judæa had been annexed at the request of the people, trouble broke out almost immediately. The following account of the popular feeling is taken from Graetz's *History of the Jews*:—

"The Syrian Governor, Quirinius, was instructed to take a census of the population and to estimate the property of the country for the purpose of the new method of taxation. A tax was to be levied upon every individual, inclusive of women and slaves, from which, however, female children under twelve and male children under fourteen and very old people were to be exempt. Furthermore, an income tax was levied, and those who kept cattle were called upon to give up a part of their herds. The taxes on the land were to be paid out of the produce of the harvest.

"The method of levying imposts roused the indignation of all classes equally. Every one resented such interference in private as well as political affairs, and felt as if the land and property and the very person of each individual were in the hands of the Emperor and made use of according to his pleasure. It is not surprising that in their ignorance of the Roman constitution the people should have looked upon the census as the herald of slavery and anticipated with terror a repetition of the Babylonian captivity. Their dread of the census, exaggerated perhaps, but not wholly unjustifiable, caused greater agitation than any previous statute, and aroused new disputes in which the old differences between Pharisee and Sadducee were entirely forgotten. . . .

"As soon as the law was passed that every one should deliver an accurate description of his family, his lands, and his property, Zadok and Judas gave the signal for an energetic resistance. In some places a conflict seems to have ensued. The more moderate, however, including the high priest Joasar, tried to pacify the malcontents by explaining that the census would not

be the precursor of slavery or of the confiscation of property, but was simply necessary in order to control the arrangements for taxation. It was useless, and the census was regarded with such suspicion and dislike that every fine was now called census (Kenas). Even the moderate party, although they endeavoured to stem the agitation, were indignant at the encroachments made upon their liberties. The school of Hillel considered the taxation so unjustifiable that, conscientious as they were, they acceded to all measures by which it might be escaped. Such was the general abhorrence of this system of taxation that all those who were officially occupied in carrying it out, whether as tax-collector or as treasurer, were looked upon as dishonourable men; they were not tolerated in the higher ranks of the community, and their testimony as witnesses was not accepted."

The Judas referred to in this passage is the Judas of Galilee mentioned by Gamaliel in the Acts, who "in the days of the census drew away much people after him: he also perished, and all even as many as obeyed him were dispersed."

The position taken up by this popular leader was, not that the Roman taxation was unduly oppressive or unfair in its incidence, but that "obedience to the Roman Law was disregard of the Divine Law, for God alone was ruler and could alone demand obedience." Josephus, the Jewish historian, tells us that "the nation was infected with this teaching to an incredible degree." Violent opposition to taxation was indeed put down, but the people as far as practicable continued to maintain an attitude of passive resistance.

With this knowledge of the political situation and the

political feeling we shall be in a better position to appreciate the significance of the question put to Jesus by certain of the Pharisees: *Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not?*

With characteristic courage Jesus took up the unpopular position that it was lawful, i.e. right and just, that tribute should be paid to Cæsar. He recognised that Judæa was a duly constituted part of the Roman Empire, and that, as she enjoyed the benefits of the Empire, so she was bound in equity to pay her contribution towards the expenditure necessary for its maintenance.

His reply is a notable example of both wisdom and dialectical skill. It marked an advance in ethical teaching by reason of the distinction it draws between a man's political obligations and his religious duty.

The ordinary current coin of a country is not a bad symbol of the beneficial influence of the political and economic union which we call the State. In view of its importance, the right of coining money has come to be regarded as the prerogative of the sovereign power, and, as a rule, the metal token bears the "image and superscription" of the reigning prince or some other emblem of the supreme authority of the State. The Jews, in consequence of their wide financial dealings, were in a position to understand this better than most people.

Accordingly, when the Pharisaic casuists approached Him with their question concerning the rightfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar, intending to put Him in a predicament, Jesus called for the common current coin with which the people transacted their business and which they used as a standard of value, and after eliciting from them the fact that it bore the head and

official title of the Roman Emperor, this being indeed the cause of its currency, He made His notable rejoinder, *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*

What benefits did the Jews as a people owe to Cæsar? Rome gave to the countries within the Empire peace and security from foreign war, while within their borders she maintained law and order. In such work the genius of the Roman people has never been surpassed. Her laws were so just that they still form the basis of most modern codes; and her administration of them was on the whole so capable and impartial that several nations, including the Jews, petitioned to be annexed to the Empire. This is the real reason why the Roman Empire endured so many centuries. Excellent roads also were constructed uniting the different provinces. Travel became easy and safe. People moved freely from one part of the Empire to another. Commerce flourished.

The Jews took the fullest advantage of the many opportunities opened to them under the *Pax Romana*. There were large and prosperous settlements of Jews in Egypt and West Africa, in Syria and Asia Minor, in Greece and Italy. They enjoyed some special privileges. They had permission to follow their own religious observances unmolested. Though the export of money was in general prohibited, they were allowed as a special privilege to send their annual contribution to the temple. Taking advantage of the facility of travel, they went in great multitudes to the solemn annual feasts at Jerusalem.

There can be no doubt about the benefits of Roman rule; were there any serious drawbacks? Imperial rule

is always found to be somewhat galling; the soldier is apt to be overbearing. On the other hand, Roman discipline was good; indeed, Jesus seems to have liked the directness and straightforwardness of the Roman military character. There were also the countervailing disadvantages of the imperial tribute and conscripted labour. But the administration of the Roman Empire was conducted on very economical lines. There were few officials, and the number of soldiers was very small in proportion to the population of the countries they garrisoned. With respect to conscripted labour Jesus advised the people to do it cheerfully and ungrudgingly. *If a man is compelled to go one mile, let him go twain.*

But what attitude did the Jews take up? They were prepared to accept all the benefits of Roman rule, but to give nothing in return. The passages already quoted from Professor Graetz's *History* state the case as favourably as possible from the Jewish standpoint. The following passage from Professor Bury of Cambridge University gives a more impartial judgment of the policy pursued by the Jewish people:—

"National sentiment and religious bigotry were inseparable for the Jews, and the fanatics burned to cast off the Roman yoke or die in the attempt. The insurrection did not break out till A.D. 66, but it was prepared during twenty-two years. The great fault of the Romans was that instead of stamping out the elements of opposition, they tried to humour an irreconcilable people, and yielded, wherever it was possible, to the prejudices and absurd demands of the Jews. Thus a Roman soldier was executed because he had torn a roll of the law. Another mistake was that too small a military force was kept in the province, and was

mainly recruited from the province itself. As for the Jews, they brought their destruction upon themselves. The high priests were worthless and violent, and took advantage of the yielding spirit of their ruler to make most unreasonable demands. During these twenty-two years the Romans were continually trying to suppress the brigands of the hills, whom the Jews called Zealots. . . . There was no real grievance. It was not the case of an oppressed people rising against oppressors, or bondmen struggling for their freedom. The war was due to the fanaticism of short-sighted peasants."

The verdict of History agrees with the judgment of Jesus that the Jews were not justified in the intransigent attitude they assumed towards the Roman Empire, an attitude gradually increasing in hostility, until at last it culminated in the rebellion which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple and the extinction of the Jewish State.

There still remains the question what general principles of political and religious conduct are implied in the saying *Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*. It plainly means that a man owes certain obligations to the Government under whose protection he lives, that he has also his duty to God, and that he must not give what is God's to the State, nor on the other hand may he refuse to render what is due to the State on the ground that his sole duty is to God. But how are these different duties, "the things that are God's" and "the things that are Cæsar's," to be demarcated?

The following is the comment of an eminent thinker in the field of political philosophy, the late Lord

Acton: "When Christ said 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's,' these words gave to the civil power, under the protection of conscience, a sacredness it had never enjoyed, and bounds it had never acknowledged; and they were the repudiation of absolutism and the inauguration of freedom."

There seems to be much truth in this interpretation, but does it not, in attributing a certain sacredness to the civil power, place it on a higher level than is implied in the words of Jesus? Did not He say with reference to Herod, the Tetrarch of Galilee, "Go and tell that fox"? Would He have spoken of the head of the Government in such a contemptuous manner if He had considered his office sacred? In the teaching of Jesus there is no trace of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, or the divine right of any form of government.

Without, then, assigning any sacredness to it, Jesus lays it down that with regard to civil and political matters due respect and obedience are to be paid to the legitimate State authority, if it is deserving of respect and obedience; with regard to matters of a religious character, He lays it down that a man's duty is to God.

Undoubtedly a certain dualism of duty is indicated here. But historical experience has confirmed Jesus's view. Puritanism and Jesuitry, in both of which movements there was sincere religious feeling, failed lamentably when they attempted to direct political power towards the promotion of religion. The opposite policy —Erastianism, as it is termed—which uses religion to advance the power of the State, has also led to disastrous consequences. The following considerations will per-

haps throw some light upon the difference between the duties man owes to God and to the Government.

Both Government and religion have regard to men's welfare, and both lay claim to men's obedience, but they work on different planes. Legislative enactment capably administered can do a great deal in restraining the criminal and in diminishing crime, and also in repressing other social evils, but it cannot make men good. The State has to be content with a comparatively low standard of conduct and morals. If a man refrains from committing crimes and pays his taxes, that, generally speaking, is sufficient from the standpoint of the State. Religion, on the other hand, aims at creating a right inward spiritual condition from which goodness spontaneously springs. Under ordinary circumstances the claims of religion and of the State need not clash. Justice is the ideal of the State, goodness the ideal of religion, and goodness presupposes a sense of justice.

There arise crises, however, not unfrequently, when the rival claims of religion and loyalty seem to conflict. With this phase of the question Jesus does not deal. Conscience is left to decide what things are Cæsar's and what things are God's.

The consciences of Christian people, however, may differ on some most important issues. Three examples will be given:—

I. Is military service contrary to the spirit of the teaching of Jesus?

II. Is the legal institution of slavery inconsistent with the spirit of His teaching?

III. Did He teach communism as the remedy for poverty?

I. *Military Service.*—Some Christians of the present day represent Jesus as teaching that under no circumstances should active resistance be offered to any violence, no matter how outrageous, whether directed towards oneself or other people. It is true that Jesus bade His missioners, when occupied in the work of proclaiming the Kingdom of Heaven, not to return violence with violence. When smitten on one cheek, they were to turn the other also. But this is only a striking way of saying that a religious reformer must be prepared to endure rough handling at the hands of angry opponents and neither slacken in his efforts nor retaliate. Modern experience in the mission field has justified this attitude. But there is no proof, rather the contrary, that Jesus held the extreme pacifist doctrine of non-resistance to all violence. In the last period of His ministry, when the fanatical Jews made plots to assassinate Him, His disciples went armed with swords, apparently in accordance with His instructions. It is true He rebuked Peter for attempting to prevent His arrest, but that was because he was resisting the legitimate authority of officers of the State. He also on one occasion resorted to violent methods Himself, if the tradition is to be believed of His cleansing the temple and overthrowing the tables of the money-changers.

As regards His attitude to a defensive war, we have no clear pronouncement. It is true that He was opposed to war with Rome. There was no justification for such a war, nor was there any hope of its success. One of His beatitudes, moreover, is pronounced upon peacemakers, *for they shall be called the sons of God.* It is clear, therefore, that He desired peace and abhorred

war. But peace-making is not the same thing as pacifism. A peace-at-any-price policy does not make for peace in the true sense of that word.

It is noteworthy that He seems to have been much attracted by the soldierly frankness and directness of the Roman officer.

It is by no means certain, therefore, that Jesus would have condemned a man for fighting in defence of his country.

II. *Slavery*.—Among the Jewish peasants of Galilee slavery was but little in evidence. What there was of it was of the mild domestic kind. In other parts of the Empire things were very different. Græco-Roman civilisation rested largely on slavery.

That the first generation of Christians accepted slavery as a necessary evil is evidenced by St. Paul's epistle to Philemon. Onesimus, a slave belonging to Philemon, a member of the Church at Colossæ, had robbed his master and run away from him. St. Paul converts him to Christianity and sends him back with a most kindly and gracefully worded letter, asking the master to receive him "not as a slave," but "as a brother beloved." The tone of the letter leaves a peculiarly pleasant impression of St. Paul's courtesy and amiability. Christianity certainly did a great deal to ameliorate the condition of the slave. The manumission of slaves was looked upon as a Christian act. Nevertheless, eighteen hundred years had to elapse and a great war to be fought before slavery was abolished in Christendom.

III. *Communism*.—Poverty made a strong appeal to Jesus's feelings of pity. He organised a system of charitable relief for the very poor.

The Church in Jerusalem, after His death, instituted a voluntary system of communism. Members who had property sold it and paid the price into a common fund, from which all drew as each had need. In the language of political economy, the community lived upon its capital; and when the capital was exhausted the system broke down and the Church at Jerusalem had to be supported by charitable contributions from the other non-communistic Churches. This communistic venture of the Jerusalem Christians was probably due, not so much to the desire to relieve poverty as to the common expectation that the second coming of Jesus was near at hand, and that there was therefore no need to make provision for the future.

Though the other Churches did not follow the Jerusalem Church in this communistic experiment, they all maintained as an essential and regular part of their organised activity a system of charitable relief for their poor. Almsgiving was highly regarded among the Jews, but it seems to have been an individual practice and unorganised. Jesus apparently made it a corporate function of the brotherhood He established. The Christian Church has ever since felt it to be one of its duties to relieve the poor and needy.

It will be observed that no clear and definite answers can be given to the three questions concerning the attitude of Jesus towards military service, slavery, and State communism. All that can be said is that the human conscience is gradually becoming more sensitive, and that cruelty and wrong are now perceived in human affairs where they were not felt before, and this impulse to humanitarianism has come largely from the teaching of Jesus.

One remark still remains to be made on the attitude of Jesus to the State. The administration of justice is the fundamental function of the State. But Jesus advises His followers to avoid litigation. It was better to settle the dispute without going to law. Nor was this advice a reflection on the character of the courts or the law of His day. Litigation, even under the best of judicial systems, is uncertain, expensive, and demoralising.

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIVIDUAL

MAN is social by nature and habit and necessity. The population of a modern industrialised State are able to maintain existence only because they are organised into a very complex society. And yet man is not like the so-called social Hymenoptera, the ants and the bees; he is never whole-heartedly satisfied with human society. There is constant conflict between the claims of society and of individuality. Especially is this true in the sphere of religion.

In earlier ages every tribal community had its own gods, and conformity to the tribal religious ritual on the part of every member of the tribe was regarded as of vital importance. Nonconformity on the part of a single member, it was feared, might excite the anger of the gods and provoke divine vengeance on the whole community. Even after the tribal community had developed into larger and more complex forms of society, this attitude was still long maintained. Thus over three hundred years before the death of Jesus, Socrates, the great moral philosopher of the Greeks, the memoirs of whose life and teaching are still studied as documents of great value in the history of ethics, was condemned and executed on a charge of impiety, brought against him by certain of his fellow-citizens, though Athens, his mother city, was justly celebrated as the most liberal and most enlightened community in the world of that day.

Within the Roman Empire, however, in the time of Jesus, toleration of religious differences was, as far as practicable, the policy pursued; and the right of private judgment in religious questions was recognised more freely and widely than ever before.

The religion taught by Jesus was a universal religion, but He did not approach the political powers and endeavour to convert the rulers of the world to His views in order that through their authority the new religion might be imposed upon their subject peoples. He appears to have avoided political entanglements, and to have preached the separation of religion and politics. He bade the people render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that were God's. Nor did He approach the recognised religious leaders of His own people, and endeavour to procure their sanction for His mission and thus secure the support of the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities in His work. His attitude towards the Jewish religious authorities was, even from the beginning of His ministry, severely critical, and as time went on became severely condemnatory.

Jesus addressed His teaching to the people directly and individually without the sanction of any external authority. It is recorded in the Gospels that they felt that He spoke "with authority, and not as the scribes." This means, to use the distinction made by Newman in his *Grammar of Assent*, that they felt that Jesus spoke with *real* apprehension of religious things, while the scribes spoke only with *notional* apprehension or *verbal* apprehension. The scribes looked backwards to the remote past and relied on the traditional authority of the Mosaic Law, which they proceeded to apply by

methods of interpretation, often of a very casuistical nature. Jesus looked at present facts and spoke from His own consciousness of divine things, and appealed to an answering chord in His hearer's consciousness. "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

Jesus taught a universal religion, but He made it universal by making it primarily an affair of the individual. His religion was first of all personal in nature, and only secondarily a matter of descent from Abraham or of obedience to the laws of Moses. Where then did Jesus place the seat of authority in religious matters? The ultimate authority for each man was internal in his own consciousness; it was not lodged in either Church or State.

But what about the claim of the Christian Church to be the supreme authority on earth in religious matters? Not to mention the acrimonious controversies that divided even the Apostolic Church and divide Christendom to-day, such claims are contradictory to the tenor of Jesus's teaching. He bade His followers "*Call no man father on earth*," and fatherhood was His symbol to express authority. Accordingly, neither king nor bishop nor pope nor patriarch can rightly claim absolute authority in religious matters, even though great respect may be due to their high office.

The following excerpt from an article in *The Times* affords an illustrative incident: "Newman, when challenged by Gladstone in an historic controversy to say whether in the last resort he would obey His Church or the State, replied with a flash of common sense that shocked ecclesiastics and politicians almost equally, 'I give an absolute obedience to neither. I should decide according to the particular case.' "

While therefore the teaching of Jesus recognises that man is social by nature, as is evidenced by His institution of a new brotherhood, He recognised also the fact that man is an individual with a certain actual or potential independence and dignity of his own.

Individuality implies a certain degree of liberty, and liberty was proclaimed in the Gospel of Jesus, though it was not given so prominent a place in that Gospel as brotherhood. He released the minds of His followers from many superstitious fears and freed them from many grievous burdens imposed by the Mosaic Law. In practice He asserted what we would now term liberty of conscience.

The modern political ideal of liberty is that every individual should be free, as far as is practicable, to speak and do as he likes. This ideal is not the same as the ideal of Jesus, who aimed at enabling men to act upon high impulses and noble motives rather than on their lower and more animal instincts.

It has always appeared somewhat of a paradox that Jesus, who recognised the dignity and liberty of the individual soul, also insisted so strongly on the need for humility and meekness, qualities which seem directly antithetical to the former. Yet the paradox is only apparent. Recent researches in psychology have added considerably to our knowledge in the field of self-consciousness and self-regarding sentiment. It is now well established that two of the most important and fundamental impulses or instincts of human nature are on the one hand the tendency to self-assertion and on the other the tendency to submission. The following account of these two antithetic yet co-operating instincts

is borrowed from the chapter on "Exaltation and Depression" in Professor McDougall's *Abnormal Psychology*.

"The normal man takes a sober, balanced, critical view of himself in his relations to the world, and he does this in virtue of the constant interplay of two fundamental tendencies of his instinctive nature, namely, the tendency to self-assertion and the tendency to submission. These two tendencies are the principal tendencies organised within his sentiment of self-regard. In the man of normal disposition and development, these two tendencies are constantly at work in all self-conscious reflection. The one prompts him to attempt any line of action that may seem in any way attractive, to regard himself as capable of all achievements, as superior to all other men in all respects. And when the promptings of this tendency carry him to success, whether actually or merely in imagination, his satisfaction takes the special form which we call 'joy,' or perhaps more properly 'elation' or 'exaltation.' The other tendency, the submissive tendency, on the other hand, prompts him to defer to others, to be docile, to submit and obey, to take a lowly view of himself and of all his capacities and achievements; to bow down beneath hard blows and to suffer in silence. And the normal man's estimate of himself, varying as it does from time to time, even from moment to moment, according as one or other of these two tendencies predominates, is the product of the co-operation and reciprocal influence of these two opposed tendencies. Normally, they work together as the twin impulses of the sentiment of self-regard, each checking and moderating the influence of the other; each liable in

turn to be called out in greater strength than the other by appropriate circumstances."

Both of these instinctive reactions were manifested by Jesus personally. His lofty self-assertion as a religious teacher is expressed in the words: "*Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time. But I say unto you.*" His submissiveness, or resignation, as it is termed in religious phraseology, is expressed in the words: "*Not my will, but thine be done.*" It was the combination of these two characteristic qualities in His conduct that impressed His judge so deeply during the course of His trial.

To His disciples Jesus emphasised the importance of these two principles in the conduct of their religious mission. On the one hand He taught them the moral necessity for humility; on the other He told them not to be abashed in the presence of potentates. In saying what was given them to say they were to be fearless and unashamed.

While the tendencies to self-assertion and to submission are normal impulses of the human mind and should co-operate in controlling behaviour, still the balance between them may be upset; and the one tendency or the other may at different times gain undue predominance. Most people, indeed all of us, pass through such alternations of mood, and are sometimes unduly elated and at other times unduly dejected. Occasionally these mental disturbances are exceedingly grave and result in permanent or prolonged insanity of the megalomania type on the one hand or of the melancholia type on the other. Religious people are not exempt from such morbid conditions of mind.

Did Jesus suffer from a psychosis of the megalomania type?

His own family for some time thought and said that He was out of His mind. Certain of the scribes also declared that He was possessed by Beelzebub, and cast out devils by the power of the chief of the devils. Jesus answered these allegations in a singularly sane and dispassionate manner. He said that a prophet was not without honour save in his own family. Later His family came to believe in Him. To the allegations of the scribes Jesus gave the effective reply that in that case the Kingdom of Evil could not stand, as it was divided against itself.

It is true Jesus claimed to be a prophet. Indeed, He claimed, what no prophet before Him had ever claimed, the power of revising the Mosaic code. But the Hebrew prophet, though a very extraordinary man, was not mad in any true sense of that word. And Jesus's revision of the Jewish law was the work of a mind of unique ethical insight.

In His personal bearing Jesus was singularly composed and gentle and accessible. One of His notable sayings regarding Himself is, "*The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.*"

He did not, indeed, permit insult or insolence to pass unrebuked, but He said that offensive language against the Son of Man would be forgiven.

He checked firmly personal aggrandisement among the twelve disciples. The disciple was not to be above his master.

Family relationship and private friendship were not treated as grounds for precedence in the Kingdom of Heaven. His "brothers and sisters" were those who

did the will of God. When a woman called out to him, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee!" He replied, "Yea, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it."

All these things point to unusual sanity of mind and power of self-control; but there are other incidents recorded in the Gospels that seem to indicate a psychoneurotic condition. Twice in the Synoptic Gospels a voice from heaven is said to have spoken to Him, first at His baptism, and second at the Transfiguration, uttering practically the same words on both occasions: "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." These words, it may be observed, are an inaccurate reproduction of a verse in Isaiah. On the first occasion the Holy Spirit was said to be seen descending from heaven like a dove upon Him, while on the second Moses and Elias were said to be seen conversing with Him.

Was Jesus subject to hallucinations? Many people have been, who were otherwise of remarkable powers of mind. Socrates, the great moral teacher of the Greeks, undoubtedly was. But the hypothesis of hallucinations will not explain these incidents as recorded in the Gospels. It is recorded that the voices were heard and the apparitions were seen by several people on each occasion; indeed, in St. John's Gospel, John the Baptist is made the chief witness regarding the voice from heaven and the descent of the Holy Spirit, though the account is discrepant with the account of his subsequent attitude towards Jesus as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels.

But the most convincing evidence that these stories are later legends is the attitude of Jesus Himself

towards the Jewish demand for a sign from heaven. He refused with indignation the demand for such a sign as a proof of the divine character of His teaching. He considered that His teaching should convey the conviction of its own truth through the inward witness of conscience, and should not be proved by an outward sign.

How then did such legends spring up? The answer is easy. Many of the more devoted followers of Jesus in the generation after His death suffered from grave mental disturbances. St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, was undoubtedly of a psychoneurotic type. Of even greater significance was the widespread prevalence in the early Church of the phenomenon known as "speaking with tongues." The nature of this phenomenon is now understood; it is a symptom of mental shock of a peculiar kind, and it is a remarkable indication of the wholesome influence of Jesus that during His lifetime there were no outbreaks of this nature amongst His followers. Among a generation so neurotic and so obsessed with the idea of the miraculous there would spring up almost inevitably such legends as those of the Virgin Birth, the Descent of the Spirit, the Transfiguration, and of the apparitions of Jesus after the crucifixion.

There is no reliable evidence therefore to prove that Jesus suffered from hallucinations. This makes all the more impressive His personal combination of genuine humility and genuine dignity. The curious commingling of these two apparently opposite qualities in the same individual is one of the most characteristic features of the Christian character.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

In this chapter an attempt is made to set forth the original nature of the society instituted by Jesus which developed later into the Christian Church.

Jesus preached the coming of the Kingdom of God. It had been a vision of the Hebrew prophets that the whole earth would some time acknowledge the God of Israel and would obey His will. But they made no attempt to realise their prophetic vision. God, it was thought, would in His own time and in His own manner bring it to pass. Jesus endeavoured to convert that vision into actuality. One of the results of His endeavour has been the Christian Church.

This identification of the Church with the Kingdom of God is denied by some who point out that in the earlier utterances of Jesus the Kingdom of God is always spoken of as a thing in the future and not in the present. But this mode of speaking is explained by the parable of the Mustard Seed. The seed is not the tree. Jesus's first work was to plant the seed. Later on He speaks of the Kingdom as present. Even within His own lifetime the growth of the movement had been such as to justify Him in speaking of the Kingdom of God as a nascent actuality and not as a future hope.

To understand the rapid progress of the new movement, we must in the first place take into consideration the religious condition of the peoples of the Roman Empire at the time; and in the second place we must

comprehend the peculiar position of the Jewish people in the Roman world. Attention has already been directed to the great political changes which, coming to a crisis some thirty years before the birth of Jesus, profoundly altered the course of history in the Mediterranean world. After several centuries of almost continuous war, the countries lying around this sea were united in a stable political union under the Roman Empire. Life and property within the Empire became comparatively secure, travel became easy and safe. Social intercourse brought people of different nationalities together. Greek thought and culture were widely disseminated; they proved a powerful solvent of the old national and tribal religious rituals and beliefs, which rapidly became obsolescent. Among the intellectual classes philosophy assumed the function and almost the tone of religion. Among the masses in the great cities strange cults were introduced from the East, which after a longer or shorter period of popularity passed into oblivion. Augustus Cæsar had endeavoured to resuscitate the cult of the old Græco-Roman gods, but in vain. The great need of the Empire was dimly felt to be a new religious faith.

The Jews alone in all this flux of belief adhered steadfastly to their national religion. But, as we have already seen, it had become meticulously and oppressively legalistic. The orthodox opinion was that the Mosaic Law was perfect, that prophecy was complete and concluded, and that the only thing left to do was to study and interpret the writings of antiquity. Nothing reveals the degenerate character of the Jewish thought of the age more than the following amazing fact. If a religious Jew felt that he had anything fresh

to say, the prevailing practice was for him, not to write it in his own name, but to ascribe his composition to some great name of the olden time. As for the common people who knew not the law, in the eyes of the learned they were accounted accurst. There were, indeed, religious movements, such as that of the Essenes, and that initiated by John the Baptist, showing that there existed a desire for something more spiritual than the prevailing Pharisaism.

Looking out on the world, therefore, of both Jew and Gentile, Jesus perceived that the time had come for a great religious movement. *The fields were white for the harvest.*

An attempt must now be made to apprehend the nature of the prophetic mission of Jesus. St. Peter's description of Jesus as the prophet whom the Lord God was to raise up like unto Moses probably came closest to Jesus's own consciousness of the character of His mission. As Moses had founded a theocratic society—the people of Israel—based on the recognition of the one true God, the God of Israel, so Jesus aimed at founding a new theocratic society, but of a world-wide nature, a universal society of which the Jewish people was to be the nucleus, based on the recognition of God, the Father in Heaven of all mankind. This was Jesus's grand conception of the Kingdom of God or the Kingdom of Heaven.

And as Moses had framed a code of laws for his people, so Jesus also gave new laws to the society He founded, more liberal and spiritual in character than the old. His criticisms of the Mosaic Law have been recounted already; here only a few supplementary remarks will be made. His new precepts were markedly

more humanitarian in spirit than the old decalogue. The Sabbath is now for man, not man for the Sabbath. The day is no longer to be kept holy by the rigid repression of healthy activities, because God forsooth, according to a primitive myth, created the world in six days and rested on the seventh.

The command to make no image of any living thing is no longer maintained; it passes into desuetude. Only a few years before a well-known rabbi instigated two of his disciples to destroy the golden eagle that had been placed on the gate of the temple, and so win for themselves a glorious martyr's death. Such fanaticism finds no expression in the teaching of Jesus.

On the other hand, He deepens and extends all the commandments dealing with man's relations to his fellow-men.

In his references also towards the temple and its sacrificial system of worship He exalts the value of the spiritual and ethical element in comparison with the ceremonial and ritualistic element. In one of His obscurer enigmatical sayings He seems to look forward to a time when there would be no temple, at least none made with hands. Did Jesus mean by this that all the Jewish ceremonial law would be abrogated? Probably this was His meaning, but it would be going too far to be absolutely positive. He certainly thought much of it to be intolerably burdensome and most of it to be trivial. His work, however, was interrupted by His death. He began the process of abrogating the Jewish ceremonial law, but He did not complete it; that was left for His follower St. Paul, as is evidenced by the long and acrimonious controversy in the early Church over the question of circumcision.

The manner in which Jesus organised and directed His missionary movement will now be briefly considered. At the beginning He preached the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven, singlehanded and alone. Later on, following the precedent of the schools of the prophets, He chose disciples from His followers and concentrated His main attention on the work of preparing them to act as missioners of the Kingdom of God. *The harvest was great*, He said; *many labourers would be required*. He impressed upon them the importance of their office. John the Baptist was a great prophet, but the least of the workers in the Kingdom of Heaven was greater than John the Baptist. On the other hand He did not organise them into a priestly hierarchy with graded seniority. The last might be the first, or the first the last. They were to be guided in their work rather by the spirit of Jesus's teaching than by definite instructions. He warned them that they might, and probably would, make mistakes. On their first journeyings these missioners depended for their subsistence wholly on charity; later on, when financial assistance was offered, use was freely made of it.

In close causal connection with the rapid progress of Jesus's missionary movement there are two facts in the history of the Jewish people at this period which have not received the attention their importance deserves. The first is the Dispersion. The larger part of the Jewish people, and apparently the better part intellectually and morally, during this period were not the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judæa, but those who formed what was called the "Diaspora" or the "Dispersion," the scattered sheep of the house of Israel. In almost every province of the Roman Empire

Jews were settled in very considerable numbers, more particularly in the larger towns. Alexandria had, perhaps, the most notable of these settlements; but Antioch, Damascus, Ephesus, and Rome were also important centres of Jewish life. The many references in the Acts of the Apostles show how numerous these Jewish colonies were. It is worthy of note also that most of the famous Jews of this period belonged to the Dispersion. Contact with the outside Gentile world had broadened their outlook and made it more sympathetic. Hillel of Babylon, Paul of Tarsus, and Philo of Alexandria were examples of such men. The other fact of great moment was the advance of the synagogue in religious importance, especially in connection with the Jews of the Dispersion. Jewish religion in earlier days centred round the temple and its sacrificial worship. But now yearly journeys to the temple at Jerusalem had become impossible for the great majority of the Dispersion, with the consequence that the synagogue had gradually displaced the temple as the chief religious institution of the people. As the synagogue had the greatest influence in shaping the early growth of the Christian Churches, a brief account of its constitution and functions is given here. The word "synagogue," like the word "church," is used both for the building and for the assembly that met in the building. According to Jewish rules, a synagogue was to be built wherever there were at least ten Jews. Its primary purpose was to instruct the people in the law; but it was also used for prayer and worship. The synagogue service was conducted under the supervision of the rulers of the synagogue, who were probably elected by the congregation. It was their duty to

arrange for suitable persons to read the lessons from the Law and the Prophets, and to offer prayer and to preach to the congregation. The principal service of the week was held on the Sabbath morning, but there were services also at other times. The Jews on the whole were tolerant of diversity in religious views so long as the authority of the law was not impugned, and considerable latitude was allowed to the speakers who addressed the congregation. No sacrificial function was performed in the synagogue, but alms were sometimes collected. It is to be observed that people of similar religious views often formed synagogues of their own. Thus we read in the Acts of the Apostles of the synagogues of the Libertines and of the Cyrenians and of the Alexandrians and of the Cilicians, all within the city of Jerusalem.

Almost always in more or less close connection with the synagogues of the Dispersion there were to be found a considerable number of Gentile proselytes or semi-proselytes who had been attracted by the monotheism and ethical character of the Jewish religion. They were called "Those who feared God." Here a remark on Jewish ritual may be made. While full proselytes—those who undertook to observe the Mosaic ceremonial law—were both baptised and circumcised, those who simply followed the ethical code of Judaism were baptised but not circumcised.

It will be seen from the above that the liberal and instructional character of the synagogue service could be made to lend itself to the propaganda work of the Kingdom of God in a very effective manner, and also that the synagogue provided through the proselytes, and especially the semi-proselytes, an easy and natural

way of approaching the Gentile peoples. And, indeed, the references in the New Testament records make it clear that the disciples and St. Paul took full advantage of the opportunities afforded by the synagogues.

One very important deduction follows from all the preceding facts, namely, that Jesus in His lifetime never formally separated Himself and His society from what we might term the Jewish Church. He maintained the attitude that the object of His new movement was not the destruction of Judaism, but the legitimate fulfilment and consummation of Judaism. His aim and endeavour was to carry the Jewish nation with Him. Even the crucifixion of Jesus did not bring the new movement and the old Judaism to the parting of the ways. His followers still remained within the Jewish pale, and continued to pursue the same policy of trying to win over the Jewish people. We are told in the Acts that the Apostles attended diligently to their religious duties in connection with the temple system of worship, and that even a number of the priests became members of the new movement. It was not till a considerable number of years had passed that the profound difference in religious spirit between the upholders of the old legalistic Judaism and the adherents of the new movement came to be felt as an irreconcilable difference, and in consequence divided the Jewish people into two separate and antagonistic religious bodies. Among the Palestinian Jews it would seem that only a minority, though a considerable minority, accepted the teaching of the prophet of Galilee. The majority continued to look forward in theory at least to the impossible ideal of a Messianic Kingdom of a political type in which the

Jews should be the ruling caste. On the other hand, among the Hellenistic Jews of the Dispersion a good number seemed to have accepted the new teaching, and it was mainly through their devoted efforts that the Christian Church grew with such vigour that in three centuries it became the Church of the Roman Empire.

The development, therefore, of Jesus's great conception of the Kingdom of Heaven into the Christian Church was a very gradual process, and was in nowise complete at the time of His death. He originated the movement, and laid the foundations of the future society, and left devoted followers to carry on the work. But the Church of the end of the second century, as it emerges into history with its organised episcopal government, its dogmatic theology, and its two fundamental sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, exhibits many developments due to outside influences, some of them beneficial and legitimate, others again quite alien to the mind and spirit of the Founder.

It must be borne in mind that the leaders of the new society, as it gradually separated itself more and more widely from Judaism, had to provide a distinct constitution for it. Under such circumstances they would naturally maintain that any development in regard to ritual or dogma which they might desire to promote was in accord with the teaching or spirit of Jesus. Some leaders went further, notably St. Paul, and claimed in good faith to have had direct personal revelations from Jesus authorising their special views. In some cases practices were resorted to that would now be considered wholly indefensible, such as the alteration of words in writings considered authoritative, the interpolation of

whole passages in those writings, and the forgery of writings purporting to be compositions of one or other of the Apostles.

In the light of these considerations we shall now consider the historicity of the accounts given in the New Testament of the institution of the sacramental rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Baptism was certainly not instituted as a rite by Jesus during His ministry; there is no evidence that His disciples were ever baptised.

The chapter which at present concludes the Gospel of St. Mark contains the following injunction, said to be uttered by Jesus after His resurrection: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved." It is now agreed by all competent scholars, including conservative scholars like Westcott and Hort, that the whole of this chapter is a late addition, and is not a genuine portion of the original text.

The account of the institution of Baptism, as given in the concluding paragraph of the last chapters of Matthew, is to the following effect: After the crucifixion, the eleven disciples went into Galilee, "unto the mountain where Jesus had appointed them." There they saw Him, though "some doubted." Then Jesus is said to have given them the following directions: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptising them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you."

This account has the marks of a late fabrication designed to give the authority of Jesus not only to the rite of Baptism, but also to the orthodox formula of

Baptism. It is certainly later than the Apostolic period. If the Apostles had been responsible for giving currency to this account of their mandate with its unmistakable directions, what is the explanation of the actual doubt and hesitation they displayed as recorded in the early chapters of the Acts?

The theological doctrine of the Trinity contained in the baptismal formula also marks the account as the fabrication of a later generation. The early practice of the Church was to baptise converts in the name of Jesus Christ.

How then did it come to pass that we find the rite of Baptism established in the Christian Church in very early times? The explanation is simple. In the early days of the Christian movement an influential section of the Palestinian adherents wished to impose upon all Gentile converts the Jewish rite of circumcision. There was a sharp controversy over this question, as is evident from the references to it in the epistles of St. Paul, who vehemently opposed this demand. His view finally prevailed, and it was agreed that Gentile converts should not be required to submit to this rite. But, as has been already observed, while the full proselytes to Judaism were required to be both baptised and circumcised, the semi-proselytes, who undertook only the moral obligations of the Jewish law, were required only to be baptised. Baptism symbolised their purification from the sins of their past life. Accordingly this part of the ceremony of initiation of Gentile converts was retained. What objection could there be to it? Had not Jesus Himself been baptised? Later on, when the Christian Church was separated from, and grown definitely antagonistic to, Judaism, it was felt that

Baptism, which had now become an exceedingly important rite in the eyes of Christians, indeed of magical efficacy in cleansing from sin, must certainly have been instituted by the direct command of Jesus as one of the fundamental sacraments of Christianity. And in a community like the early Church a feeling of this nature was certain sooner or later to find expression and relief in a pious forgery.

The second great Christian rite has been variously styled the Breaking of Bread, the Lord's Supper, Holy Communion, the Sacrament, or the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, and the Mass. While there seems at first sight to be much stronger evidence for the institution of this rite by Jesus than there is for the institution of Baptism, there has been, as is shown by the diversity of appellation, extremely wide divergence of view as to its nature and significance, and this divergence manifested itself very early.

The earliest account of its institution is that given by St. Paul in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. It reads in the Revised Version as follows: "The Lord Jesus in the night in which he was betrayed took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, This is my body, which is for you; this do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink of it, in remembrance of me." St. Paul's account makes the rite primarily one of memorial significance. "This do in remembrance of me." But the phrase "The new covenant in my blood" implies sacramental obligation. And there is sacrificial significance in the words, "This is my body, which is for you." If taken literally this sentence

implies the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Host.

But St. Paul's account cannot be accepted as historical. What was his source of information? He affirms that he received it from the Lord; it was a part of that Gospel which he received "neither from man nor by teaching, but by revelation from Jesus Christ." It reads very like a compromise, a formula composed to unite parties of different views.

The Synoptic Gospels substantially repeat St. Paul's account, with certain more or less important additions and omissions.

On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel, though it gives a long description of the last supper, omits all mention of the institution of any rite. Surely this remarkable omission is intentional, and means that the writer of the Fourth Gospel did not accept St. Paul's account.

It is noteworthy that he also corrects the error of the three Synoptic Gospels in representing the last supper as the Passover. It was the policy of St. Paul to establish the Christian Church as completely separate from and independent of Judaism as possible. To promote this development Baptism and the Lord's Supper were substituted as the Christian analogous rites to take the place of the Jewish rites of circumcision and the Paschal feast.

But more important than the negative evidence of the Fourth Gospel is the fact that St. Paul's statement of the function and the importance of the Eucharist in the Christian Church, as set forth in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, is not in harmony with the fundamental principles of Jesus's teaching. He taught that

it was not what entered into a man that mattered, but that which came out of him.

What, then, is the true significance of the rite of Breaking Bread which is referred to on several occasions in the Acts? In the Synoptic Gospels it is mentioned not only in connection with the last supper, but also in the legends of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes. The legends themselves are absurd, but they throw light on the origin and significance of this rite. Great scandal was caused, as has been already observed, by Jesus's custom of eating with people ceremonially unclean. He made a point of so doing. When numbers of these "common and unclean" people came to hear Him, He could not indeed partake of an ordinary meal with them; that was not practicable; but He broke bread with them as a symbol of human fellowship. All the world over eating and drinking together is a token of fellowship. To-day it would be a somewhat similar case to this custom of Jesus if in India a Brahman social reformer were to make a point of eating a few grains of rice with "Untouchables" in order to break down the prejudice of caste. For the breaking of bread with even a large number of people only a small quantity of bread would be required. This is probably the grain of truth from which sprang the grotesque legends of the feeding of thousands with a few loaves.

The conclusions concerning the origin of the Christian Church may be briefly summarised as follows: The primitive Christian associations, which were known later as Churches, consisted of those Jews and Gentile proselytes who accepted the enlightened and liberalised development of Judaism which Jesus taught, and

endeavoured to carry the spirit of His teaching into their daily life. These associations were constituted on the model of the Jewish Synagogue, from which they were not at first sharply distinguished. The members met regularly, as in the synagogue, for instruction, worship, and mutual assistance.

Instruction was a noteworthy feature, and was given a place of special importance in the service. We have good specimens of its nature in the Epistles of the New Testament. The sincerity and freedom and spiritual insight of these writings still make them impressive documents, and help to explain the rapid growth of Christianity.

In conclusion, a brief comparison will be instituted between the modern democratic ideals of Fraternity and Equality and the corresponding social ideals as conceived in the teaching of Jesus.

Fraternity or brotherhood was the metaphor used by Jesus to express the relationship of good will and helpfulness that should subsist between the members of human society. Modern democracy uses the same metaphor and professes the same social aim. But while Jesus relied solely on methods of pacific persuasion, democracy has resorted to the policy of terrorism and violence. "Be my brother, or I shall kill you," has not unfairly been represented as the attitude of insurgent democracy.

The principle of human equality was not asserted by Jesus. He did not teach that men were born equal or that they could be made equal by any educational process. The parable of the Talents proves that He thought men were unequally endowed. The parable of the Sower reveals what He expected from the effects

of sound teaching. Some hearers receive no benefit from it at all, a great number, however, are benefited, but by no means to an equal degree. The good seed produced in some cases a hundredfold, in other cases much less. Equality is not therefore a principle of the Kingdom of Heaven.

On the other hand, it must be observed that Jesus expressed Himself strongly against any claims to official precedence amongst His missioners. In His hyperbolical, semi-humorous manner He said that the first was to be the last and the last the first. He also forbade in the strongest terms the practice of contemptuous language or conduct towards the humblest brother. All, even the lowest, were to be treated with consideration.

In his essay on Faith and Eternal Life, the late Professor Ward of Cambridge writes: "One thing, I think, is certain: there was nothing strictly sacerdotal in primitive Christianity, and the Apostles were never called priests. Some organisation there must be in every community: the appointment of deacons as described in the Acts of the Apostles was due to this. But the rise which occurred later of a so-called 'hierarchy,' i.e. orders of men ceremoniously set apart, and therefore to be revered as holy, men who were entitled as His vicars on earth to intervene between their one Heavenly Father and the rest of their brethren, from whom, as mere laymen, they differentiated themselves—this, I cannot refrain from saying, has always struck me as the first and most serious rift that befell the Christian ideal of the Kingdom of God on earth."

There seems to be a good deal of truth in these

remarks of Professor Ward; but does he not go too far in his desire for simplification and his rejection of all orders in the Church except that of the diaconate? Jesus Himself spoke of the scribe of the Kingdom of Heaven who was to bring things both new and old out of his treasury.

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